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Michio Nagai September 1953

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On: Japanese Social Relations

Interim Technical Report No. 7
DOZOKU: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE JAPANESE "EXTENDED FAMILY" GROUP AND ITS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS (Based on the Researches of K. Ariga)

Submitted by: Michio Nagai

Date: September 1953

Office of Naval Research Project NR 176-110

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RESEARCH IN JAPANESE SOCIAL RELATIONS
(RJSB)

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DOZOKU: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE JAPANESE "EXTENDED FAMILY" GROUP AND ITS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS

(Based on the Researches of K. Ariga)

Note: The present report consists of a description and a preliminary functional analysis of the dozoku ("same kin-group") system of relationships in Japanese rural society. The group of persons included within the dozoku customarily involves blood relatives along with fictitious or ritual relatives, the whole constituting a cooperative body organized for the purpose of carrying on economic, political, and ceremonial activities in the community. The report may be considered as parallel to this Project's Interim Technical Report No. 3, in which an analysis is made of another important form of fictitious kin grouping found in urban areas, in labor groups, and commonly known in Japan as the oyabun-kobun system. This study of the dozoku is supplemented by a more detailed analysis of the socio-economic background of the Japanese rural community as set forth in the Project's Interim Technical Report No. 6

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Preface

Western writings on the social organization of Japanese rural communities have stressed three groupings: the honke, or "main family;", the bunke, or branch family; and the kumi, or voluntary cooperative organization. The first two are regarded as "kinship" groupings, because ties between their members are based on ascertainable biological kinship relations. Their functions have been seen as principally solidaristic. The third grouping has been viewed as "economic"; that is, ties between members are established on the basis of purposive activity.

This report examines in some detail a fourth major type of social grouping in the Japanese rural community: the dozoku. This structure has received little or no attention in Western research and writing, although Japanese sociologists and ethnologists have devoted considerable attention to its delineation. The importance of the dozoku lies in the fact that it is a combination of true and ritual or fictitious kinship groups, organized both for the fulfillment of solidaristic and "expressive" functions and economic or "instrumental" functions. It thus constitutes a compromise between the "family system" (honke-bunke) and the kumi. There is evidence which indicates that in the development of the Japanese rural community from "feudal" or traditional forms, the dozoku has played a larger role than either of the latter, and consequently its presentation to the Western scholar may have some importance.

The contemporary significance of the dozoku system would appear to be based upon certain features of the Japanese rural economy which have necessitated the development of welfare measures. In particular, it can be related to the combination of extreme poverty among certain classes of tenants, and high landlordism. In a situation of this type a "paternalistic" system of long standing and strong institutionalization has developed, serving the same broad needs that are served by the oyabun-kobun system, an analogous "fictitious kinship" grouping in the sphere of labor. (See Project RJSR, Interim Technical Report No. 3)

Dr. Nagai has made a detailed study of the materials in the files of Project RJSR on the dozoku system for a number of Japanese rural communities. However, he has chosen in this report to present a description and analysis of the dozoku on the basis of materials published by Kizeaemon Ariga, a distinguished Japanese sociologist of the family. This report

constitutes an introduction to the later analysis of the original RJSR materials, and also an introduction to the work of Professor Ariga. While the basic data are thos of Professor Ariga, the conceptual scheme used in interpretation is that of Dr. Nagai and Project RJSR.

The reader will find that the empirical sections of this report are detailed; the interpretive sections relatively brief. This is deliberate, in order to introduce a relatively new subject to Western students of social and economic organization, and, also to permit these students to form their own impressions of this complex grouping so important in Japanese rural society.

John W. Bennett

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I. INTRODUCTION

By John W. Bennett

This report constitutes a brief introduction to an important social grouping found in the majority of Japanese rural communities, and referred to by most Japanese sociologists as the dozoku, the literal meaning of which is " same kin group".[1] Alternative terms used include dozoku-dan (dozoku group); dozoku soshiki (dozoku system), or dozoku ketsugo (dozoku corporate group). Villagers themselves use more expressive words which concretely suggest the fundamentals of the system: oya-ko (parent and child); kabu (a tree root, or the head of an animal); maki or make (herd); jirui or aiji (residential group).[2] These summarize most of the principal characteristics of the grouping: it is a residential group; that is, its members live in one locality; it is solidaristic (like a "herd"); it is the source of all guidance and security for its members (the "root"); and it is organized upon the familial model of social relations ("parent and child").

More important, and to be featured in this report, is the fact that the dozoku is a composite body of both true kin (blood relatives and adopted relatives) and fictitious or ritual kin. The admission of the latter into the circle of blood and adopted relatives is no accident or special ceremonial custom, but is an intimate and necessary

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1. Dozoku, when written in Japanese, is composed of two ideographic symbols, do meaning "same", and zoku meaning "group, family, or clan". Therefore, it literally means a group of people who belong to the same family or clan. The full implications of the term, or course, are much more complex. Ketsugo is the Japanese translation of Max Weber's concept Verband. The term is translated in English as "corporate-group". It is defined as "a social relationship which is either closed or limits the admission of outsiders by rules". (Max Weber, 1950, p. 145.)

2. See Appendix E for a longer list of the terms used.

phase of the economic system of Japanese rural communities. In general, the demands of the situation are such that a body of persons larger than that formed by the true relatives alone is required to perform the tasks on the larger farms and in rural industries like fishing. Yet, in the rural Japanese system of interpersonal relations, unswerving loyalty and devotion to the task are obtained primarily through kinship ties. This is another way of saying that the family is the model for all social relationships, and the family the basic solidaristic unit. Consequently, fictitious kin ties are frequently resorted to in order to achieve the solidarity, cooperation, and loyalty needed to insure economic welfare.

The composite true-ritual kin character of the dozoku, aside from other important aspects of the system, is worth describing because in Western literature on Japan one often finds reference to the dozoku as an "extended family". More specifically, the Western image of this key social grouping and system of relations in Japanese rural society has been drawn exclusively in terms of blood kinship relations, and consequently the vital economic and social role played by the body of ritual kin has been ignored. In addition, the full extent of dozoku ties within the body of true kin itself has not been fully recognized. The Japanese habit of extending and inventing kin ties in order to include wider and wider circles of true and fictitious relatives, for purposes of organizing purposive activities and spreading economic risk, is one deserving careful and prolonged study. In this sense, the present report by Dr. Nagai is a contribution parallel to a previous report on the Japanese oyabun-kobun system (Report No. 3), in which fictitious kin ties in the sphere of labor organizations were described.

The objectives of Dr. Nagai's presentation are as follows: (1) to introduce the dozoku grouping and system of relations to Western readers on the basis of Japanese studies of the subject; and (2) to clarify current Japanese conceptions of the dozoku and its role in village life, in the light of a systematic frame of reference, so that comparative studies of the dozoku and similar institutions in other societies can be made by others. No attempt is made to examine the historical development of the system, nor of the wider socio-cultural background out of which it emerges. The study reported on is that of a single case of a dozoku grouping which may be taken as "typical" in the sense of possessing a particularly complete assortment of traditional features. The emphasis in Dr. Nagai's report is on an empirical description of the dozoku system and its functions, and not upon extensive comparison and theoretical refinement.

The case example studied in this report, namely that of the Saito dozoku in Ishigami Village, was observed by a number of sociologists over a period of some ten years. The most extensive examination was made by the team of Kizaemon Ariga, a sociologist, and Takao Tsuchiya, an economist and economic historian, during the period 1935-1936. The results of this extremely intensive research project have been published in at least four documents.[3] The most exhaustive of these is Ariga's Nambu Ninoe-gun Ishigami-mura ni okeru Daikazoku Seido to "Nago" Seido (The Large Family System and "Nago" System in Ishigami Village), which is a 414-page volume devoted to a description of the single case of the Saito dozoku. Hereafter the monograph will be referred to as "Ariga I". Prof. Ariga's second major work on the case, Nihon Kazoku Seido to Kosake Seido (The Japanese Family System and Tenancy System), will be referred to as "Ariga II" in the pages to follow.

Ariga and Tsuchiya lived with this dozoku group from July 31 to August 6, 1935, and later Ariga returned alone in January 1936. He continued his work for some time thereafter through correspondence. While staying with the dozoku, he worked extensively with Zensuke Saito, the head of the dozoku, and Genpachi Saito, a local scholar who was then making an ethnographic study of this locality. He also obtained valuable documentary data from the latter,[4] and also interviewed other members of the dozoku. The data thus collected by Ariga were described in detail in the monograph. It includes descriptions of the community background (pp. 23-38), the structure of the dozoku (pp. 39-122), the function of the dozoku (pp. 123-326), residence patterns (pp. 327-354), and documentary records of land relations (pp. 355-414).

In the files of the Ohio State University Research Project in Japanese Social Relations there exist many other primary source materials, based on village studies, concerning the dozoku system. These materials are not utilized in the present report. Most of them pertain to the situation following the transfer of agricultural land

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3. Kizaemon Ariga, 1939; Kizaemon Ariga, 1943; Kizaemon Ariga, 1940; Takao Tsuchiya, 1937, pp. 62-66. In addition to the writings by Ariga and Tsuchiya, there is a report by Akira Kinoshita on this dozoku in Shakai Seisaku Jiho (Social Policy Report), Vol. 184, Nos. 6 and 7.

4. Genpachi Saito, at that time, was writing Ninoe-gun Arasawa Kyodo Shiryo (Historical Record of Arasawa Locality in Ninoe-gun).

in the Japanese "land reform", and consequently they represent studies of differing types of change, in different communities, away from the more archetypical case described by Ariga. Therefore this presentation of the case of the Saito dozoku may be considered as a preface to a later analysis of the original RJSR data. The report may also be viewed as an introduction to English-speaking readers of the researches of Professor Ariga, one of the most outstanding Japanese sociologists of the family.

Dr. Nagai's report consists of six chapters. Chapter II defines certain general structural and functional characteristics of the dozoku group and system of relationships. Chapters III, IV, and V consider in detail the case of the Saito dozoku. Chapter VI consists of a discussion of the role of the dozoku in Japanese society, and the reasons for its persistence. The conceptual approach used by Dr. Nagai in this last chapter, and in other sections of the report, is that of Project RJSR and not Prof. Ariga's.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DOZOKU

The Locality Group

Excluding the individual nuclear family, the smallest group in Japanese rural society in which effective economic cooperation and social interaction takes place has been called dozoku by the current generation of Japanese rural sociologists. The word has been freely translated as "extended family" by most Western scholars, and the semantics of this English term have implied a body of blood kindred representing two or more generations. Since every dozoku does contain a group of people related by blood, representing one or more generations, this conception of the dozoku as a body of kindred is not entirely erroneous.

However, the dozoku should not be conceived of entirely in terms of kinship relations. It is, first and foremost, a locality groupings of cooperating families and individuals, living together -- sometimes under one roof -- and sharing the tasks of everyday work and agricultural production. A mura ("village") or buraku ("hamlet", smaller political division of a mura) is thus composed of a mosaic of dozoku.

In the second place, the dozoku contains families and individuals who, although considered to be members of the group, are not related by blood to the main family line. These families and persons may be regarded as "fictitious" or "ritual" relatives of others, since they are addressed by quase-kinship terms, and in most cases have undergone special rites de passage which transform them into fictitious relatives of the kin group. In no sense should these fictitious relatives be equated with legally adopted relatives. The latter, which are present also in Japanese families and dozoku, become "true" relatives, not "fictitious".

Hereafter the blood-related and adopted relatives will be called "true kin members" or "households", of the dozoku, and the fictitious relatives will be called "ritual kin members" or "households".

The existence of these two classes of dozoku members has led many Japanese rural sociologists to classify actual dozoku into two types: (1) those in which the true kin members are the only ones, and (2) those in which both true kin and ritual kin are found.[5] These two types are purely ideal, since in reality what is involved are two principles of organization: namely, reckoning relationship by blood or adoption, and reckoning relationship by ritual. The two principles give rise to a bewildering assortment of sub-types of dozoku in which much variation is found with respect to number of ritual kin, and the status of particular persons and role-types. For example, the status of servants in some dozoku is simply that of hired hands; in others, they are ritual kin. In some dozoku farm tenants constitute a body of ritual kinship households; in others, they do not. In some dozoku the true kin households have a higher economic status than the ritual kin; in others, the two are equal; and so on. Thus the specific utilization of the two "principles of organization" will vary by specific local needs and established customs, and it is best to view the dozoku as a cooperating locality group generally organized on the basis of true and ritual kin ties.

The "Compromise Kin Group"

Since all dozoku possess a body of true kin members, it may be appropriate to regard this group of relatives as an instance of what Murdock has called the "compromise kin group".[6] This type of grouping is one in which both residence and descent are involved in the particular social group. The heads of the true kin households in the dozoku claim descent, in the patrilineal line, from a common ancestor, and at the same time, since these households live together in a community, with the wives joining their husbands, patrilocal residence is created.

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5. E.g., see Ariga, 1943, pp. 98-144; Ariga, 1948, pp. 114-141; Tedashi Fukutake, 1951, p. 36; Hiroshi Oikawa, Minzokugaku Nempo (Annals of Ethnology) Vol. II; Seiichi Kitano, Minzokugaku Nempo (Annals of Ethnology), Vol. II.

6. George P. Murdock, 1949, p. 42.

This means that the wives of the men are included in the "family"; that is, the dozoku, through the "rule of common residence", even though these wives are not blood members of the patrilineal line of descent. Conversely, many patrilineal relatives -- for example, younger sons who move away from the community -- are not included in the dozoku because they are not members of the residence unit. Consequently, a "compromise" between pure descent and pure propinquity is reached: patrilineal descent is ignored in the case of some relatives because they violate the "rule of residence"; and common residence permits the inclusion of some persons (wives) even though they are not patrilineally related.

This "compromise kin group"[7], or the body of true kin members of any dozoku, is always divided into two types of households or family units: the honke ("main household") and bunke or bekke ("branch household"). Each dozoku has but one honke household, which is succeeded to in every generation by the eldest male child. Thus the honke maintains the principal patri-line of descent in the dozoku. On the other hand, the bunke households are detached from the main line of descent. They are households established by younger sons of the honke heads -- at least those younger sons who remain in the area.

Quite often contemporary bunke are not direct split-offs from the honke, but are descendants of offspring who were detached from the main line of descent several generations ago. The shortage of land in rural areas has prevented the establishment of bunke in large numbers in recent times. Since many bunke of the contemporary period are of considerable age, they may actually be considered to represent branch patri-lines of descent, and not simply "junior households".

In addition to the bunke, mago-bunke or mago-bekke ("grandchild branch household") are found fairly frequently, especially in long-settled communities. These are removed one further degree from the honke, having branched off, in earlier times, from the bunke. No Japanese rural community appears to have established third degree household lines.[8]

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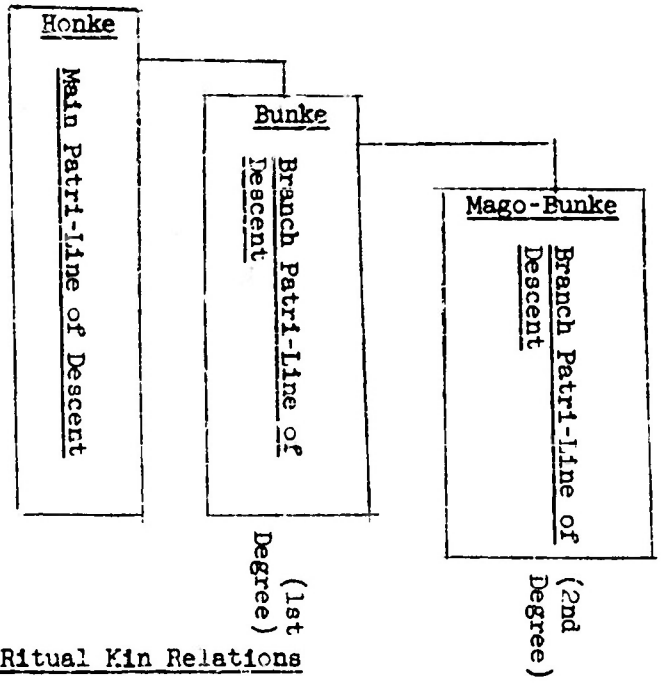
7. It may be noted that Murdock also uses the term "clan" for the specific type of "compromise kin group" represented by the true kin households of the dozoku. (Murdock, op. cit., p. 68).

8. Further discussion of main and branch household relationships is given in Chapter IV, A.

FIGURE 1.

Honke and Bunke Household Relationship



True and Ritual Kin Relations

The previous section described the major structural features of the body of true kin members of the dozoku: the "clan" or the "compromise kin group". At this point the distinction between true and ritual kin groups may be discussed in detail.

First of all, it was noted previously that the true kin members share two characteristics they trace their descent from a common ancestor, and they reside within a given geographical area. Because of the "compromise" character of the group, the wives (and adopted children) are included in the circle of true kin relatives. Now, in contrast to these true kin, the ritual kin members are not related by blood to a common ancestor of the kin group. However, they do reside in the same locality or dwelling with the true kin members. Their relationship to the latter is technically ritual; it is based upon a pattern of

continuing services, the establishment of affectual ties, and the cementing of the relationship by ceremonial observances.

Although the ritual kin members do not inherit membership in the dozoku by birth, there are cases where the impression is given to outsiders that the ritual kin members do acquire their status by simple ascription. In rural communities where in-and-out migration is low, ritual kin households are found to have worked for several generations in the dozoku. Consequently, children born into these ritual kin households may appear to have "inherited" the status from their parents. However, in actuality these children must earn or "validate" a full-fledged ritual kin status by working for the true kin members of the dozoku and establishing personal relations with them. If such children do not do this, they cannot be considered ritual kin members, and must seek employment elsewhere. An analogy could be found in the case of a child of a college professor, who, although regarded by birth as a member of the university community, nevertheless must undergo routine training in order to become a professor like his father.

The previously noted variation in composition of individual dozoku, and in the dozoku of different communities, may be understood more fully by the above discussion. In dozoku without ritual kin members, households are all related by blood to the main family (honke), the only important social distinction being that between honke and bunke. In dozoku with both true and ritual kin members, which appear to constitute a majority, households are of two different types: true kin households, main and branch; and ritual kin households, which are of course always, in a sense, "branch" households with respect to the honke (perhaps "quasi-branch" might be the word). Individual members of the ritual kin households may be actually living in true kin households, or they may be living as a family unit in one of the true kin households; several variations are possible, and such details are really a matter of adjustment to local needs and customs.

Functions of Dozoku

Three principal functions may be defined: (1) the regulation of inheritance patterns; (2) organizing economic relationships and occupations; (3) promotion of social solidarity in a closely cooperating and interacting small group.

The regulation of inheritance is served by the patrilineal descent system; consequently it is, by and large, an affair of the "compromise kin group" -- the true kin members of the dozoku -- and does not concern, in any important manner, the ritual kin members. Inheritance is particularly vital problem in Japanese rural society where the major form of property -- lano-- is very limited in quantity. This is important in light of the fact that only those patrilineal relatives living in the vicinity are entitled to consideration in inheritance. The eldest male child of the honke regularly succeeds to the house; certain of the younger sons are given other property or may establish branch households. Thus the dozoku system is also a system of limited inheritance of property in a land-short and economically "poor" society.

The organization of the economic welfare of the dozoku, or what may be called the "instrumental" aspect of the dozoku, is a category of broad and general functions which involve a number of tasks and goals related to survival of the group as a group. Included are labor exchange systems, between landlord and tenant (when tenants are ritual kin members);[9] relations of obligation and favor-exchange; and regularly assigned duties which are often divided between true and ritual kin members on the basis of a prestige hierarchy.

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9. In most dozoku in rural Japan, the head of the main household is the largest landowner, while the heads of the ritual kin households are tenants. This is the so-called nago system. The "instrumental" status of the heads of true kin branch households is variable, depending upon the wealth of the dozoku. In some cases, they are landowners, while in others they are tenants. Status allocation varies further according to the occupations in which the dozoku members are engaged. In fishing communities, the important statuses may be those of the boatowner and the sailor; in the guild system, the master and the apprentice; and in small-scale commercial enterprise, the manager and the clerk. (See Katsunori Sakurada, 1952, pp. 97-162, concerning the dozoku in fishing communities. For dozoku in guild systems and commercial groups, see Nakano, Shakai Kenkyu (Sociological Research), Vol. I, No. 3; and Ariga, 1948).

The important general aspect of these instrumental functions is that they are never consolidated in the form of a legal contract. Instead, the agreements are diffuse and informal, and precise amounts of money and the economic interests in general are never calculated. Nor can it be said that the parties concerned are exclusively motivated by "economic self-interest". Instead, affectual feelings, and value freighted concepts like "service", "benevolence", and "loyalty" are the rule. Thus, in the case of the landowner-tenant relationship,[10] the amount of rent to be paid is not calculated in proportion to the amount of debt, nor is the tenant's term of service to the landlord definitely specified. The tenant pays what he can, or what the landlord suggests he pay in consideration of his financial situation in the particular year, and the "term of service" is viewed as a personal, familial type of relationship which continues indefinitely so long as the affectual ties are maintained.

This diffuse character of the instrumental functions suggests the third major category of functions, namely, the solidaristic or "expressive". As noted above, the payment of rent by the tenant (for example) is not merely fulfillment of an "instrumental" agreement, but is also an act which symbolizes his solidarity with the dozoku group, in that he is fulfilling a norm of "loyalty" to the landowner. The dozoku system possesses various forms of property exchange and gift-giving, the meanings of which must be understood in the "expressive" context as well as in the economic -- many of them exclusively in the former sense,

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10. Since the reader is aware of the fact that Japan experienced a land reform in the Occupation period, with the great majority of tenants becoming free-holders, the use of the term "tenant" requires explanation. In the first place, the dozoku system is not dead, even though the majority of tenants now own land. In many localities the ritual kin relationship is preserved for aspects of the economic and social relationship other than that pertaining to land. Secondly, in many communities not all agricultural land was "reformed", and in others tenancy is reappearing; consequently the dozoku system continues to operate as described. Finally, in mountain communities, where the great majority of land is forest, and where the tenants are tenants of forest land, no change is observed since forest land was specifically excluded in the "reform".

since their "economic" value is slight. Other acts, such as the reciprocal behavior appearing on occasions like funerals, weddings, the birth of children, house-repairing, and the like are all to be understood as important implementations of the social solidarity of the dozoku.

Expressive functions are also carried on by a specific ceremonial institution, the dozoku-shin (dozoku shrine), where members of the group can assemble and pray for their individual and collective welfare. On certain annual festivals, like New Year's, the Bon (Buddhist All Soul's Day), and rice-planting, the members of the dozoku assemble at the main household and reaffirm their bonds of solidarity. These ceremonies are normally presided over by the head of the honke. On such occasions, the whole body of members, true and ritual kin alike, are socially and ceremonially placed in the role of "children" of the head of the honke, and thus the "familial" aspect of the entire cooperative group is emphatically demonstrated.

Norms

All these "expressive" patterns serve to reinforce the normative outlook of the group. The nature of the social positions underlying the norms of the dozoku system are suggested by the terminology used by members of the group. Thus, the honke is called by both true and ritual kin members a variety of terms all meaning "parents", while the branch households are called heya or heyawakare ("room" or "branch room"), and similar terms. In some localities the ritual kin households are called tanomi, which means "branch household by request". In these and other terms the generally hierarchical status and role distinctions between members of the dozoku are signalized, and the appropriate attitudes reinforced. (See Appendix for further information on terminology.)

The valuational aspect of the normative system is outlined in a set of articulated concepts which are not unfamiliar to readers of Benedict's Chrysanthemum and the Sword. These concepts define a system characterized by particularistic and diffuse notions of privileges, loyalties, and obligations, which are expressive of a hierarchical order. The most common of these are on (benefice, largess), giri (particularistic obligation), and

ninjo (human feelings, sympathy, humanity). Conspicuous violations of such norms can lead to censure on the part of other dozoku members, and in extreme cases certain formal sanctions (kando) can be used to expel the miscreant.

Instrumental and Expressive Systems

The major areas of function of the dozoku may also be thought of as giving rise to two differing but linked systems of social relationships. The first of these, which may be called "instrumental", concerns relationships at the level of economic interchange and task-accomplishment. Thus, interaction between members of the dozoku in the roles, say, of landowner and tenant may be thought of as an instance of the "instrumental" system in operation. Interaction between these same two persons in the roles of honke head, or "parent", and ritual kin household head, or "child", may be thought of as a case of the "expressive" or solidaristic system in operation. These distinctions and those made previously will be utilized on subsequent pages to clarify the structure and functions of the dozoku grouping.

CHAPTER III

THE SAITO DOZOKU AND THE COMMUNITY OF ISHIGAMI

The following is a brief sketch of the community background of the concrete case-example of dozoku which will be analyzed in this report.

A. Ishigami buraku

In Arasawa village in Iwate, one of the northern prefectures of Japan, there is a small buraku called Ishigami.[11] Ishigami thus is located near the northern end of Honshu island, approximately 300 miles north of Tokyo. Although at present Arasawa village is on the railroad, in earlier times it was an isolated mountain community, surrounded on three sides by mountains 3,000 feet high. It is covered by snow every year from the end of December to the beginning of April. Cherry trees bloom in the beginning of May, a month later than in Tokyo. This section of Japan is generally known to be one of the poorest, and Arasawa is no exception to this rule. Arasawa's major means of support is agriculture, and since winters are long and productivity of farm land is poor, the level of living of most villagers is low.[12]

B. Origin of the Saito Dozoku

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the locality was undeveloped -- a wild valley covered with forest. It was under the political control of the Nambu fief which comprised a part of what is now Iwate Prefecture. Early in the 17th century a samurai from this fief, Soemon Kaga, came to Arasawa and settled in Ishigami-buraku. This was the historical origin of the Saito dozoku.[13]

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11. The buraku is a subdivision within a village (mura in Japanese). Arasawa mura is composed of 39 burakus of which Ishigami is one. Arasawa covers 71 square miles. There are 898 households in this village. For information on the number of households and the kinds of land in Arasawa, see Appendix A.

12. Data for general economic and geographical background were obtained from Ariga I, pp. 23-37.

13. Historical records of Saito's forefather are given in Ariga I, p. 39, and in Ariga II, p. 333. The data given in the first are slightly different from those given in the second. The former is used here. Ariga obtained the data from Genpachi Saito, op. cit.

Following the samurai tradition, Kaga's household was succeeded to each generation by the eldest male child. There is reason to suspect, however, that the samurai tradition was not the sole reason for maintaining the custom of primogeniture. In a mountain community like Ishigami, it must have been difficult for the heads of the Kaga household to develop new farm land and to accumulate cultivated land sufficient for division among the children. To seek means of support, the younger sons must have left Ishigami, either adopted by families outside the buraku or established new households, and likewise daughters also must have married outsiders. Thus, probably economic conditions necessitated the maintainance of the samurai tradition of primogeniture. It was the great-grandson of Soemon Kaga, Soshiro, who changed the surname "Kaga" to "Saito" (1655-1657). Since then the Saito patri-line of descent has been called "honke" or the main patri-line of descent.

C. The Establishment of Bekke and Mago-bekke

Obviously by the time Soshiro became the head, the Saito (formerly Kaga) honke had accumulated a considerable amount of wealth. Consequently, Soshiro's three younger brothers, Sogoro, Jinnosuke, and Sobei, were able to remain in Ishigami and inherit portions of their father's property. Although the amount of property inherited by each of the three younger sons was smaller than that inherited by the eldest son, three new households were established in the community in addition to the honke. For each of them, a house was built, farm land, forest land and house-sites were given by their father. These newly established households were called "bekke" (branch patri-line of descent) and since the time of establishment their lines of descent also have been maintained by the eldest male child of each generation. Further, certain bekke, when they had accumulated sufficient wealth, established their own branch patri-line of descent (mago-bekke) by giving properties to a younger son born in this bekke. The first mago-bekke was established sometime between 1848 and 1853 by one of the younger sons born in the bekke line which was originated by Jinnosuke Saito.

Starting from the single household of Saito, the descendents thus expanded in and around Ishigami, and gradually laid a firm foundation for the prosperity of the Saito k n group. Although many younger sons and most daughters left Ishigami, at the time the research was done there were seven bekke (5 in Ishigami and 2 in Nakasai, a neighboring buraku) and five mago-bekke (2 in Ishigami and 3 in Nakasai). [14]

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14. Ariga I, pp. 44-50

In earlier times, the Saito honke and mago-bekke might have worked together very closely in farming and forestry. As they accumulated wealth, however, they confined their mutual aid to non-economic activities, like weddings, funerals, and building and repairing houses. In emergencies like sickness, famine, flood, fire, etc., the strong kin ties were always useful. For festivals and ceremonies, they assembled at the honke, kneeled at the altar in the honke, where the spirit of their common ancestor resided, and prayed for their welfare and prosperity.

D. Economic Activities of the Honke

That the honke, the bekke, and the mago-bekke did not help one another in economic enterprise does not mean that these households were not prosperous or that economic activities were undeveloped. On the contrary, from the time of establishment, these houses were landowners and as such, they needed labor.

An inspection of the economic activities of the honke may be desirable. The scale of economic activities of the honke in the beginning of the nineteenth century is reflected in the main building (omoya) of the honke which was constructed in 1823 and exists today. The honke residence is composed of a main building and several attached buildings. The main building is 120 feet wide and 50 feet deep. It contains several bedrooms, a living room, storage rooms, a drawing room, an altar for ancestors, a huge kitchen, a work area, a stable capable of keeping 30 horses, a special room for raising silk-worms, and other facilities. The attached buildings include three barns, a water-mill, a saw mill, a silo, a bath-house, and a toilet-house.[15]

It is easy to infer from the size, the complex distribution of the rooms in the main building, and the number of the attached buildings that the honke was engaged in much economic activity by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Agriculture is obvious, and the saw-mill indicates that the honke engaged in forestry. A special room for raising silk-worms means a silk industry, and stables are for cattle-breeding. Records also indicate that lacquer-ware was made and sold on the premises.

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15. Ariga I, pp. 327-338.

In 1936 the honke owned the largest amount of farm land (42 acres) and the largest quantity of forest land (295 acres) in Ishigami.[16]

E. Incorporation of Ritual Kin Members

It was thus necessary for the honke to get sufficient labor from the outside to maintain these industries, but this could not be acquired from either the bekke or the mago-bekke since the latter were also landowners and needed extra labor themselves. It was evident, therefore, that the honke and the branch households had to get labor from those who were not true kin relatives of Saito.

These Saito households did not solve this problem by hiring farm labor on a wage basis. Instead, the honke increased its labor supply by incorporating strangers into its household by the cultivation of fictitious kin ties.

A typical procedure by which an outsider became a member of the honke and thereby a potential source of labor may be described.[17] In the first place, the honke took into its household a child of a stranger, fed him, clothed him, permitted him to stay in the same building, and treated him much as if he had been a real child of the household. This was a typical method by which a potential "servant" was obtained by the honke. Therefore, as the child grew older, he participated in domestic work, farmland cultivation, forestry, charcoal-making, and other activities of an economic sort. In other words, he became a full time "resident servant," but with the status of a "household member," rather than that of an "employed servant." From the standpoint of an American maid who works only for a specified time to earn wages also specified in her contract, he may appear to be exploited. But the Saito "servant" probably felt secure because he knew that his welfare would be taken care of as long as he stayed with the honke. In response to this selfless devotion and the "child-like" loyalty of the servant to the honke, the latter was required not only to feed him and clothe him, but also to arrange his marriage when he came of age, to permit his wife to live in the honke house and to consider the wife and the children as authentic relatives of "children" of the household.

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16. See Appendix D for more detailed information on the honke land holdings. These are pre-land reform data, of course.

17. The following description of servant and tenant is based on Ariga's data found in Ariga I, pp. 51-96.

The method by which tenants were obtained by the honke was similar to this procedure. The honke did not seek out a stranger to "hire". Instead, the honke assisted a "resident servant" to establish a new branch household and to become a cultivator on its land. In other words, the honke rewarded long years of service from a servant by granting him the privilege of establishing a new branch household - as if he were a real son of the family. A house was built for him and the right to rent farm land and a house site was given to him. Sometimes he might even be given the privilege of using the surname "Saito." The new household was called bunke-nago to differentiate it from bekke, which applied to the branch houses established by true relatives of the honke.

Consequently, the relationship between the honke and the bunke-nago was not a tenancy relationship based on rational-legal contract practice. Of course, the nago-bekke did pay rent in kind and in labor, working at least 10 to 20 days a year at the honke. Since he was not a tenant by virtue of a legal contract, however, there was much more that he had to do for the honke than merely pay rent. As if he were the head of a bekke, he was expected to come and work at the honke on the occasions of funerals and weddings, house building and repairing, and all ceremonies and festivals. On such occasions he would be expected to kneel at the altar of the Saito ancestors and swear his loyalty to the group.

From the foregoing brief sketch of the treatment of the servant and the tenant, it should be clear that they were related to the honke not by contract but by ritual kin ties. Likewise, the values cherished by them were not those held by "wage earners." They appear to have felt that their debt to the honke was immeasurable since the latter had done so much and had bestowed so much largess on them (Japanese: on). There is evidence that they felt that the debt was payable only in part, because the honke contributions were so great (on-gaeshi). They also appear to have felt that they were bound by obligations (giri) to the honke and to the entire Saito kin group to the extent that these obligations must be fulfilled no matter how difficult they might be; that personal satisfaction (ninjo) must never take precedence over duty; and that they should be loyal to the Saito kin group in any and all situations (chugi).[18]

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18. About these Japanese codes of behavior, see Ruth Benedict, 1946. Also see Chapt. V of this report.

What was described above, of course, is only a typical way in which outsiders were incorporated in the Saito honke through ritual kin ties. There were many other ways in which strangers could become ritual kin members of this group. As a result, various kinds of ritual kin branch households have been established, which will be mentioned merely by name here. They are, in addition to the bunke-nago, the bekkekaku-nago, the yashiki-nago, and the sakuko.

F. The Saito Dozoku of Today

Through these procedures, the Saito kin group has continued to expand. At present there are 13 servants residing at the honke, and a total of 23 branch households of the honke, the heads of which are all ritual kin members. There are also several resident servants in some of the bekke and 2 ritual kin branch households of two bekke.[19] What is called the Saito dozoku in the present report thus consists of 1 honke, 7 bekke, 5 nago-bekke, and 25 ritual kin branch households located mostly in Ishigami, but with some in Nakasai and Iwaya, the neighboring buraku of Ishigami.

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19. See Appendix B and C for a complete list of the members of the Saito dozoku.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SAITO DOZOKU

As may be clear from the preceding sketch, the Saito dozoku is composed of the Saito "clan" or "compromise kin group" and 25 ritual kin households.

Although the other 25 branch households are called ritual branch households, upon brief inspection it is found they had not been strangers to the dozoku group even before the ritual kin ties were formed between them and the clan. In other words, the ancestors of the 25 households, with the single exception of one household, have served as ritual kin members of the Saito dozoku for many generations.[20] Thus, there are 10 patri-lines of which the present heads of the 24 ritual kin households are descendents.

Households in each of the 10 patri-lines of descent seem to form 10 clans in themselves, because they, like the households in the Saito clan, are descended from a common ancestor and are located within a definite territory, i.e., Ishigami. However, the former households, unlike the latter, have no formal or recognized unity. Their unity is only that of classification as ritual kin households of the Saito dozoku. Separated from the dozoku, they form only an aggregate of households, and therefore do not deserve the name "clan." The main household of the dozoku is found only in the Saito clan. The structure of the Saito dozoku can be diagrammed as follows:

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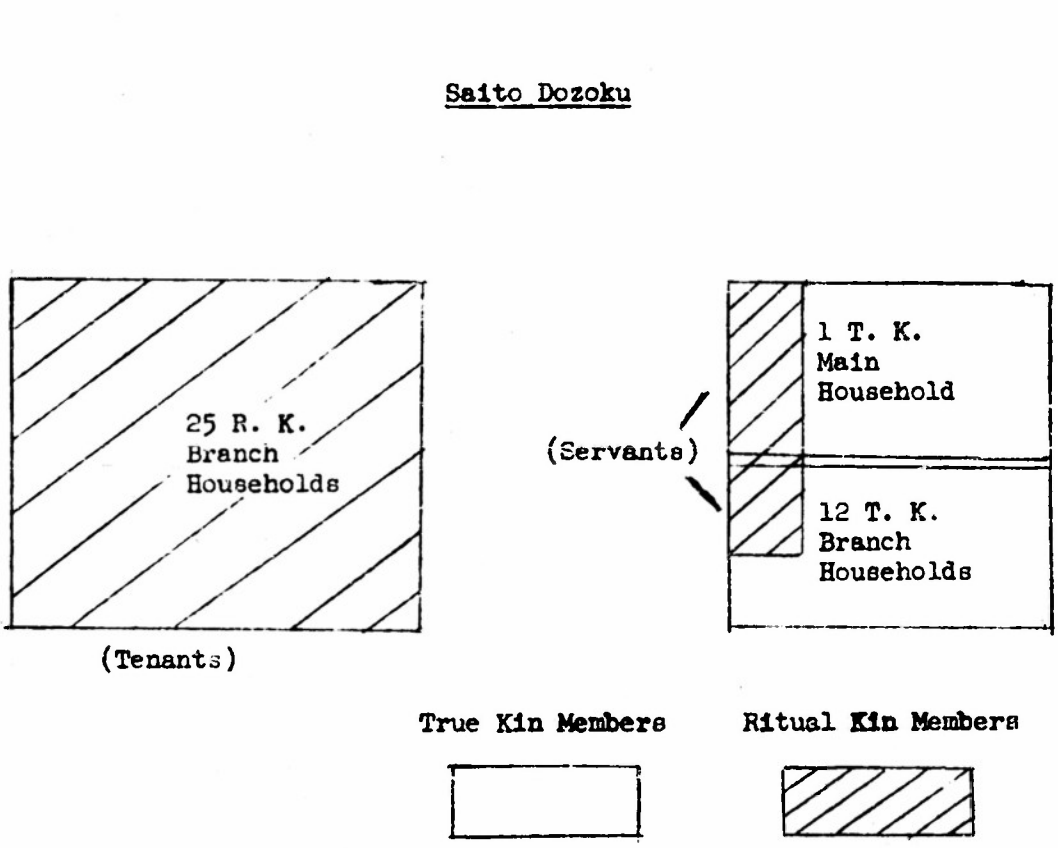
20. With regard to this one exception, explanation is found on p. 36.

FIGURE 2

Saito Dozoku as Composed of True and Ritual Kin Members



On the pages to follow, the Saito clan and the 10 patrilines of descent will be analyzed first. Following the analysis of these two components of the dozoku, another important aspect of the dozoku, namely, the "instrumental" system in which the dozoku members occupy such statuses as landowner and tenant, will be analyzed to determine how status allocation in the "instrumental" system does or does not correspond with status allocation in the dozoku (which, in contrast to the instrumental system, may be called the "expressive" system).

A. The Structure of the Saito Clan

In terms of descent, all 13 households of Saito clan are true households, of which one is main and the other 12 are branch. In terms of household composition, some households in this clan are composed of both true and ritual kin members while others are composed only of true relatives. The structure of the Saito clan may be examined first with reference to descent, and next with reference to household composition.

(1) The structure of Saito clan with reference to descent

The first settler of the Saito clan came to Ishigami, as already described, in the seventeenth century. He was Soemon Kaga, the fourth generation head of the house of Kaga. Four generations later, Soshiro Kaga changed the house name from Kaga to Saito. In 1710, the first bekke was established by his younger brother (Sogoro), and sometime between 1711 and 1715 the second one by another younger brother (Sobei), and in 1724 the third one by still another younger brother (Jinnosuke). Later, the fourth bekke was formed by a younger brother (Tahei), of the 10th generation head of the Saito honke, followed by the fifth by a younger brother (Chusuke) of the 11th generation head. Two other bekke were established much later by two younger brothers of the 15th generation head of the honke.

After these bekke were organized, each assumed a new house name to designate its branch line of descent. The bekke established by Jinnosuke was called Sakaya, the one established by Sobei was Nakayashiki. Other names included Himashi, Tahei, Kagachu, Kagazen, and Atarashie. Later five mago-bekke split off from these bekke, and new house names were also given to them. They were Zenji, Iwakichi, Bakurai, Kotaro, and Katsutaro.[21]

Although these names seem complex, they were obviously created to indicate clearly the status a person occupies in the dozoku. Thus, in Ishigami, when one meets a person who calls himself "Kaichiro Saito of Kagachu," he can determine

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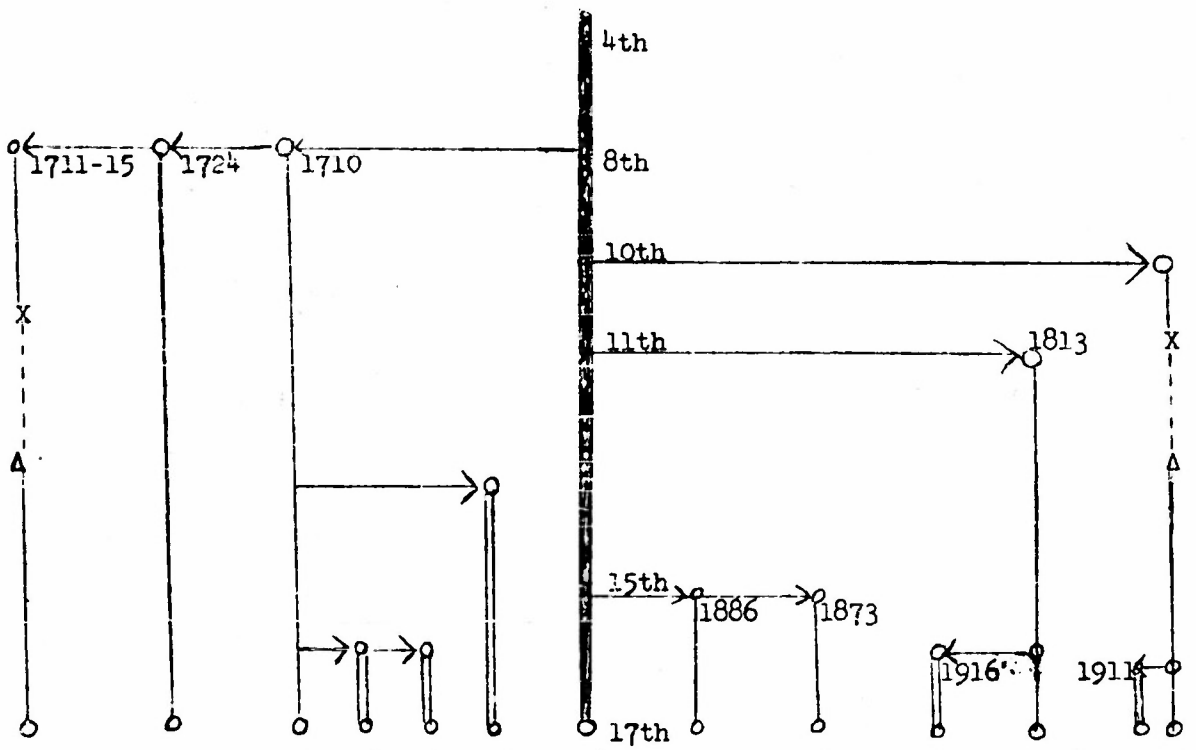
21. See Appendix B for the complete list of the house name, name of household head, relationship between each household and its main household, date of its establishment, and place of residence.

immediately whether or not he is a true kinsman of the dozoku, whether he belongs to bekke or mago-bekke, and how close or distant his relationship is to the honke. The use of the surname "Saito" indicates that a person is probably a true kinsman of Saito, and the use of "Kagachu" indicates that he belongs to a bekke located in Nakasai, established in 1813, and related to the present head of the honke only distantly. (Probably more than ten degrees apart). Kaichiro is actually thirteen degrees from Zensuke Saito, the present head of the honke.

Such relationships between the honke, the bekke, and the mago-bekke are best shown in the following chart.

FIGURE 3

The Genealogy of the Saito Clan



On the basis of this chart there are three more points to be made with regard to the structure of the Saito clan.

(a) Although the heads of the 13 households share descent from a common ancestor, they are, as the chart shows, only distantly related. For example, the present head of Sakaya-bekke is 18 degrees distant from the present head of the honke. The present head of Himashi-bekke is 16 degrees away from the latter. Therefore, it is clear that the Saito clan is far from the kindred legally defined in the Japanese Civil Code, which includes only 6 degrees from ego.[22] The 13 households of the contemporary period are related only in the sense that they share a common Saito ancestor. Thus, all but one of the present heads of the 13 households share the surname "Saito". The one exception is the Bakurai-mago-bekke whose head uses the surname "Tsuchizawa". He uses this name because the founder of the Bakurai group was adopted by the "Tsuchizawa" household in 1876. However, since he is related to Saito and resides in Nakasai, he is still considered to be the head of a true kinship household of the Saito clan.

(b) It is also clear from the chart that the branch households of the contemporary period are not direct split-offs from the present main household, but that the lines of descent in the honke, the bekke, and the mago-bekke have long been independent of one another and each has been succeeded to at each generation by the eldest patrilineal descendant of the respective line.

(c) Lastly, some further comments are necessary with regard to the use of terms "honke", "bekke", and "mago-bekke". Since they are used to designate the main-branch relationship between the two households, different terms are used for the same household, depending upon who uses them. For example, Saito is called:

honke (main) by Sakaya which was detached from Saito, but at the same time,

sohonke (main of main) by Zenji which was detached from Sakaya.

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22. The Civil Code of Japan, 1950, Article 725: "The Persons mentioned below are relatives: 1. Relatives by blood up to the sixth degree of relationship; 2. Spouses; 3. Relatives by affinity up to the third degree of relationship."

Sakaya is called:

> bekke (branch) by Saito which is its honke, but at the same time,
>
> honke by Zenji which is its bekke.

Zenji is called:

> mago-bekke (grandchild branch) by Saito which is its sohonke, but at the same time,
>
> bekke by Sakaya which is its honke.[23]

However, as far as the dozoku as a whole is concerned, only the household of Saito is regarded as the honke, and all other households as either bekke or mago-bekke. Other households can become the honke of a dozoku only when they have become more powerful than the original honke, and have formed separate and independent dozoku.[24] In the Saito dozoku, however, none of the bekke or mago-bekke have become independent, and consequently all the 12 true kin households are integrated under the leadership of the Saito dozoku honke.

(2) The structure with reference to household composition

Of the 13 households in the Saito clan, the number which include ritual kin members is not reported by Ariga. Complete information on household-composition is given only with regard to the Saito honke.[25]

In this household, 13 true relatives and 13 ritual kinship members are living together. The relationships among them are shown on the following chart:

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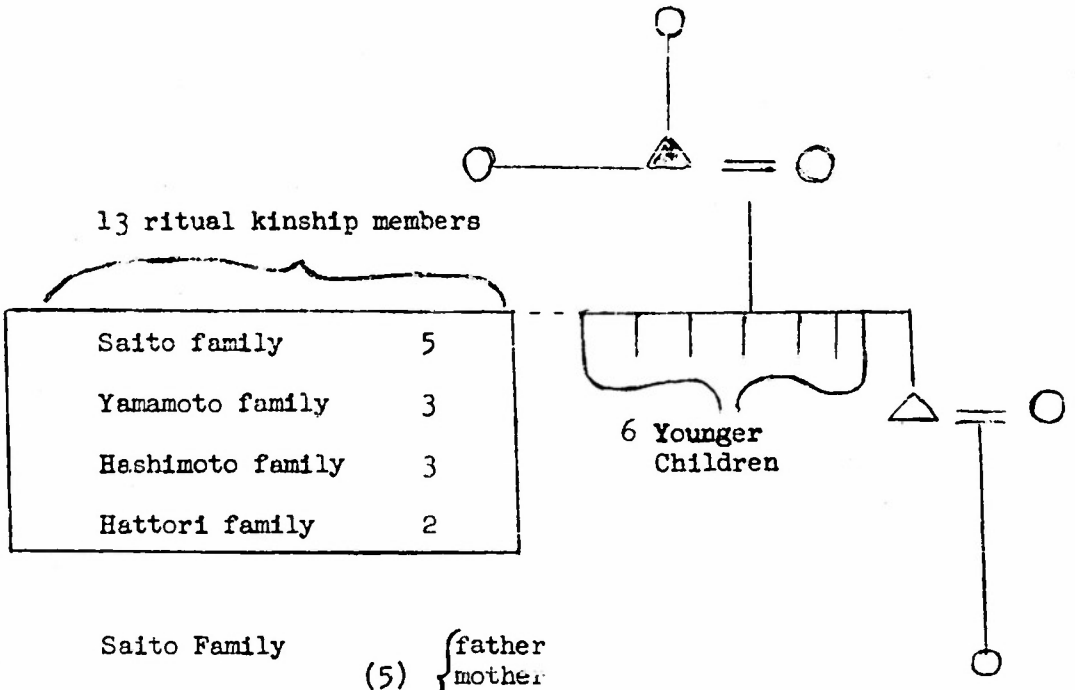
23. The data for the use of these three terms are obtained from Ariga I, p. 51.

24. Fukutake illustrates such a case in his research on the Nakajima dozoku in Shimokawazoe-mura, Akita Pref. (Fukutake, op. cit., pp. 78-79.)

25. Ariga I, pp. 40-42.

FIGURE 4

The Composition of the Saito Honke*



Saito Family (5) {father, mother, 3 children}

Yamamoto Family (3) {father, son, son's wife}

Hashimoto Family (3) {aunt, nephew, (relation unknown)}

Hattori Family (2) {2 sisters}

△ the present household-head

△ the eldest son

——— true kin relationship

- - - - ritual kin relationship

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* Information on this chart is obtained from Ariga I, pp. 40-42.

The Saito honke, as shown on the chart, and insofar as true relatives are concerned, takes the form of a patrilineal, patrilocal extended family. The nuclear family of the present household-head, Zensuke, and also that of the eldest son, Bunichi, are included. In addition to them, the mother and a sister of Zensuke are living with the group. The other 13 members are all regarded as ritual kin children of Mr. Zensuke Saito. However, they are related, as also shown on the chart, by true kin ties among themselves. For example, there are five ritual kinship members who belong to the Saito "nuclear family", and three of them to that of Yamamoto. There are two sisters, and one aunt and a nephew. However, even the Saito "nuclear family" is not in the full sense a "nuclear family", because it does not form a completely separate household from the Saito main household. In spite of the fact that there exist the 13 ritual kin members, the main household is composed of one household and of one residence.

With regard to the bekke and the mago-bekke, information on household composition is so slight that no meaningful interpretation can be made.

B. Ritual Kin Households of the Saito Dozoku

With regard to the 25 ritual kin households of the dozoku, there are two important aspects to be discussed.

First, there are in Ishigami 10 patri-lines of descent in which the members have been traditionally ritual kin members of the dozoku. Therefore, by virtue of their birth, those who are born in these 10 patri-lines of descent are the members of the ritual kin branch households.

Secondly, full-fledged "ritual kin membership" is not automatically inherited by those who are born in the 10 patri-lines of descent. It is achieved by them only when certain requirements have been fulfilled.

This section will consist of: (1) descriptions of the 10 lines of descent and the 25 ritual kin households, (2) descriptions of the requirements necessary to achieve ritual kin membership, and (3) some variations in the relationship between true and ritual kin households.

(1) Patri-Lines of Descent and Ritual Kin Households.

In the foregoing discussion, it was pointed out that ritual kin members of this dozoku, like the true kinsmen of the dozoku, were born in certain patri-lines of descent.

The relationship between a patri-line of descent and a ritual kin branch household may be illustrated as follows:

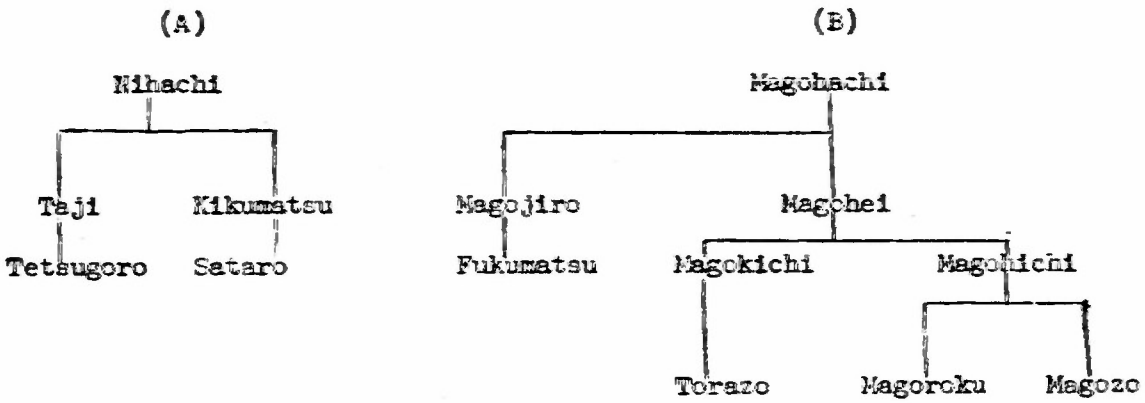
Ritual kin members, since they are not true kinsmen of Saito, do not use the surname "Saito", with the exception of several who are, for reasons to be explained, granted the privilege of using this surname. However, there are several surnames which are shared by each of several groups of ritual kin members. For example, the heads of five ritual kin branch households use the surname "Hashimoto" because they descended from two common ancestors who settled in Ishigami in the nineteenth century. Torazo Hashimoto, Magoroku Hashimoto, and Magozo Hashimoto may be considered first:

Their great-grandfather, Magohachi Hashimoto, settled in Ishigami in 1821, and became a resident servant, and later the head of a ritual kin branch household of the Saito honke. Obvicusly, their grandfather and fathers have also served as ritual kin members of the dozoku. At present there are four households heads who are descendents of this patri-line. One of them, Fukumatsu Saito, does not use the surname "Hashimoto" for reasons to be given later.

The same may be said with regard to the other two Hashimoto households, namely those of Tetsugoro and Sataro. Their grandfather, Hihachi, likewise settled in Ishigami between 1830 and 1843, and, like Magohachi, became a resident servant and later the head of a ritual kin branch household of the Saito honke. It is not known, however, whether or not Hihachi and Magohachi shared a common ancestor. Thus, the descendents of Hihachi are considered separately from those of Magohachi, and the former are considered as forming the "Hashimoto (A) patri-line of descent", the latter the "Hashimoto (B) patri-line of descent".

FIGURE 5

The Genealogy of Hashimoto Patri-lines of Descent*



In addition to the two patri-lines of descent mentioned, there are eight more patri-lines of descent in Ishigami and all the 25 ritual kin branch households, except one, i.e., the household of Sannosuke Saito, are descendents of these ten lines.[26] The names of ten patri-lines of descent and the number of households included in each of them are listed as follows:

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* Data on this chart is obtained from Ariga I, pp. 83-84.

26. Data is not given in Ariga's report about the genealogy of the household of Sannosuke Saito.

TABLE 1

Number of Ritual Kin Households in Ten Patri-Lines of Descent*

Names of patri-lines of descent	Number of Households
Hashimoto (A)	2
Hashimoto (B)	4
Saito (A)	2
Saito (B)	1
Saito (C)	1
Hattori	1
Baba	5
Yamamoto	2
Kakehata	1
Ishida	5
Total	24

So far as the genealogical background of the resident servants in the honke is known, two of them belong to the Hattori patri-line of descent and one of them to the Yamamoto patri-line of descent.

The ancestors of the present heads of the 24 households, (except those of the head of Nitaro Saito which belong to the Saito C patri-line of descent) have traditionally been ritual kin members of the Saito dozoku.[27]

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* For more detailed information about the 10 patri-lines of descent and the 24 household see Appendix C.

27. The Saito C patri-line of descent obviously is an exceptional case. Nitaro Saito's forefather was once related to the Saito clan. Therefore, the reason why the household of Nitaro is now regarded as a ritual kinship member is not clear. Probably he is regarded so because the relationship between him and the Saito clan is no longer traceable. (Ariga I, p. 89)

(2) Types of ritual kin status and the requirements for their achievement

Unlike those who are born into the true kin households, those born to the ritual kin branch households do not inherit their fathers' status in the dozoku. They are required to achieve the status of a ritual kin member by meeting certain requirements.

It has been already suggested in the foregoing discussion that there exist two major statuses that ritual kin members acquire in the Saito dozoku. They can be servants in the true kin households, and heads of the ritual kin households. However, as the reader may recall, there are four kinds of ritual kin households, i.e., bekkekaku-nago, bunke-nago, yashiki-nago, and sakuko in this dozoku. To avoid the use of complex Japanese terms, bekkekaku-nago will be called hereafter "quasi true kin branch household", bunke-nago, "ritual kin branch household of type A", and both Yashiki-nago and sakuko "ritual kin branch household of type B."[28]

Thus, in all there are four major statuses that ritual kin members acquire in the dozoku. In the order of "low" to "high" status, they are: the servant; the head of a "ritual kin branch household of type B"; the head of a "ritual kin branch household of type A"; the head of a "quasi true kin branch household". The higher the status, the more requirements for its achievement. However, more correctly speaking, the head of a "ritual kin branch household of type B"is, as will be explained, outside the ladder of achievement for ritual kin members. In the following discussion, these four statuses will be contrasted with one another with reference to the requirements for the achievement.

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28. Literal meanings of these terms are: bekkekaku-nago (nago who is treated like bekke); bunke-nago (nago who is the head of bunke); yashiki-nago (nago who rents a house-site); and sakuko (a child-cultivator). The term "nago" is hard to translate. Its meaning will be explained in Chapter V. B. 11).

Although yashiki-nago and sakuko are obviously two different statuses, their ritual kin relationships in the dozoku are similar. They are thus included in the same categor , i.e., "the ritual kin branch household of type B" . However, they should be discussed separately, as will be done later, when their statuses in the "instrumental" system are examined.

TABLE 2

Types of Ritual Kin Status and
Requirements for Validation of Status*

Four types of ritual kin status	Requirements
Servant	Entering into service
Heads of "quasi true kinship households"	Accomplishments of service as servants**
Heads of "ritual kinship households of type A"	Accomplishment of service as servants**
Heads of "ritual kinship branch households of type B"	Becoming a tenant

a. Status of Servants Some of the children of certain ritual kin households are taken to a true kin household by their parents when they are finished with grade school (6 years of schooling from 7 years of age). No contract is made between the parents of a child and the head of the household for which he will work. However, there is a mutual understanding that he is to stay in this household as a servant until he is given the privilege of establishing a branch household after long years of service. He is not a wage-earner. He usually stays in this household even after marriage and the birth of some of his children.[29] To become a servant means, in this case, to form a

* Data for this table are obtained Ariga I, pp. 51-57, pp. 97-98.

** The requirements for the second type and those for the third type are similar. The only difference is that the latter, while serving as servants, develop deeper affectionate relationships with, and perform more services for the true kin members of the household in which they reside.

29. Ariga I, pp. 51-54.

ritual kin relationship with the true kin members of the Saito dozoku. Of the 13 ritual kinship members who reside in the Saito main household, 10 occupy the status of servants while the other 3 are their children.

b. Statuses of head of "quasi true kin branch household" and head of "ritual kin branch household of type A" The requirements for the achievement of these two types of statuses may be discussed jointly but, in order to achieve either one, a person is required to work first as a servant. However, there is a difference in the required years of residence in a true kinship household. Those who achieve the first of these two statuses begin their stay in a true kin household from the time of infancy, while those who achieve the second do so after they have finished grade school. Consequently the former more so than the latter develop affectual relationships with true kin relatives of the household in which they stay. However, Ariga also states that a person may achieve the first status without having lived in a true kin household since babyhood if he shows unusual ability in his duties.[30]

The "quasi-true kin branch household", as the name indicates, is treated in the Saito dozoku in a manner virtually similar to the true kin branch households. However, the status of the "quasi-true kin branch household" is not inherited like that of the true kinship branch household. Therefore, the former should still be regarded as a ritual kin branch household.

Once a person has achieved this status, he is given the privilege of using the surname "Saito". There are 7 heads of ritual kin households by whom the surname "Saito" is used. Thus, the heads of 3 quasi-true kin households, namely Kataro, Kowakichi, and Suetaro, use the surname "Saito". The reason that three of the other four are using this surname seems, from Ariga's description, to be due to the fact that they had ancestors who once were the heads of "quasi-true kin branch households". They are, however, the heads of "ritual kin branch households of type A". One more household head who uses the Saito surname is Hitaro Saito. Although he is only the head of a "ritual kin household of type B", he holds the privilege of using the "Saito" surname, because he, as a member of the Saito C line of descent, is related to the Saito "clan".[31] There are 11 heads of "ritual kinship branch households of type A".

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30. Ariga I, pp. 54-57

31. Ariga I, p. 89

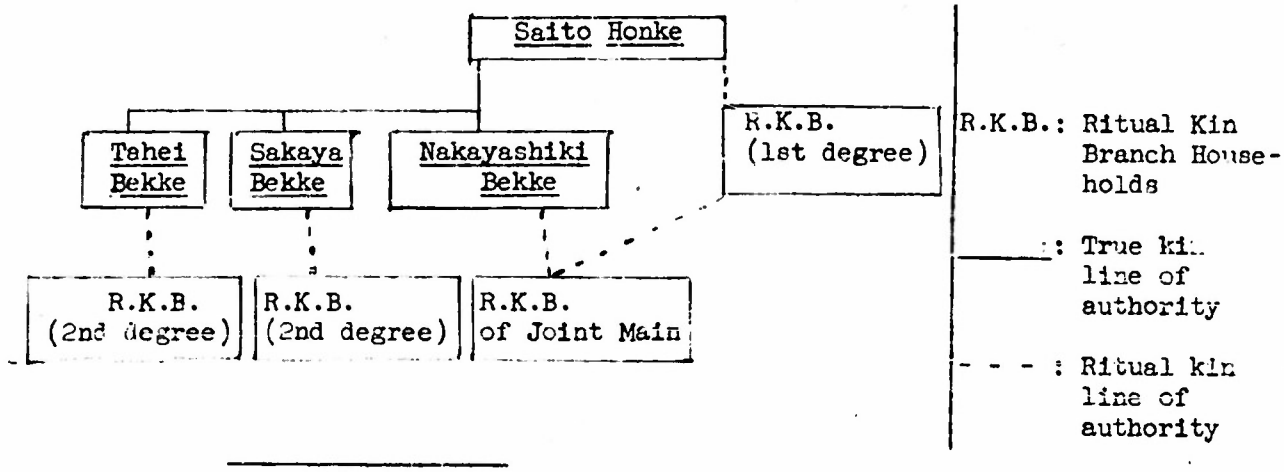
c. Status of head of "ritual kinship branch household of type B" To achieve this last type of ritual kinship status, one is not required to serve as a servant. He merely has to rent either a homesite (yashiki) or a piece of farmland (wakesaku) from the head of a true kinship household.[32] However, this tenancy relationship, as will be explained later, cannot be considered as a contractual one. There are 11 ritual kinship households of this ty

(3) Variations in the relationship between true and ritual kin households

Of the 25 ritual kin branch households of the Saito honke, 22 are branch households of the Saito honke, 2 are true kin branch households (i.e., Sakaya-bekke and Tahei-bekke), and one, the household of Shishi Ishida, is a ritual kin branch household of both the Saito honke and Nakayashiki-bekke. The first group of 22 households may be regarded as ritual kinship branch households of the first degree away from the Saito honke. The second group of 2 households may be regarded as ritual kinship households of the second degree away from the Saito honke. The last may be regarded as a ritual kinship branch household of a joint-main household, composed of the Saito honke and Nakayashiki-bekke. The three kinds of relationships are shown on the following chart:

FIGURE 6

Line of Authority Between the
Saito Honke and Ritual Kin Branch Households



32. Ariga I, p. 98.

In the case of true kin branch households of the first and second degrees which were discussed earlier, if one bekke - for example, Sakaya - becomes more powerful than the Saito honke, Sakaya and its ritual kin households may form an independent dozoku organization. However, in the case of the Saito dozoku, all the 25 ritual kinship branch households are under the dominant control of the Saito honke and maintain the unity of the dozoku.

C. The Parallel "Instrumental" System

The dozoku, as analyzed in the foregoing pages, has been seen primarily as an "expressive" system to promote solidarity among its members. However, as stated in Chapter II, there is a system of relationships and goals which closely parallels the "expressive" system, namely, the "instrumental" system. This network of relations serves to regulate economic transactions among the dozoku members and facilitate their productive activities.

Viewed in an "instrumental" context, each member of the dozoku, in addition to the status allocated to him in the dozoku as an "expressive" system, occupies another status in the "instrumental" system. For example, Mr. Zensuke Saito, who is the head of the honke of the dozoku, is at the same time the most powerful landowner in the "instrumental" context.

Since complete information on landowner-tenant relations is available in Ariga's report with regard to 7 true kin households and 22 ritual kin branch households which are in the first degree from the Saito main household, this information will be used here to exemplify the kinds of status which the members of the dozoku hold in the "instrumental" system of relations.[33]

(1) Landowner and Tenant

Every head of the 7 true kinship households owns a paddy, some upland, a forest, and a homesite. In contrast to the heads of true kinship households, the heads of only a few ritual kinship households own land. Of the 22 ritual kinship households, the heads of 8 households own paddies, 6 households own upland, 4 households own forests, and only one own a homesite.

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33. Complete data on land relations of 7 true kin households and 22 ritual kin households and its sources are given on Appendix D. The tables in this section are based on this data.

TABLE 3

Land Ownership in True and Ritual Kin Households

	paddy	upland	forest	house-lot
of the 7 T.K.H.	7	7	7	7
of the 22 R.K.H.	8	6	4	1

Furthermore, the area of the paddies, upland , forests, and homesites owned by the heads of true kin households is much larger than that owned by the heads of ritual kin households. The average area of the four kinds of land is given as follows:

TABLE 4

Average Amount of Land Owned by True and Ritual Kin Households

	paddy	upland	forest	homesite
T.K.H.	14 tan*	29 tan	273 tan	352 tsubo**
R.K.H.	2 tan	4 tan	10 tan	87

* 1 tan = 0.245 acre. For example, 14 tan = 3.5 acre.

** 1 tsubo = $\frac{1}{30}$ tan = 0.008 acre. For example, 352 tsubo = 2.8 acre.

In contrast to them, the heads of the 21 ritual kin households are primarily tenants. Of the 22 household-heads, 18 rent paddies, 21 rent upland, and 18 rent homesites. None of them rents forest. None of the heads of the 7 true kin households is a tenant on any sort of land.

TABLE 5

Rental of Various Types of Land by Heads of Ritual Kin Households

	paddy	upland	forest	homesite
Of the 21 R.K.H.	18	21	0	18

(2) Landowners

Although the heads of all the 7 true kinship households are landowners, it is noteworthy that the head of the Saito honke is by far the largest landowner. The areas of the paddy, upland, forest and homesite owned by the head of the Saito main household can be compared to the average holdings of the heads of the 6 true kin households:

TABLE 6

Average Amount of Land Owned by Honke and Bekke

	paddy	upland	forest	homesite
Saito Main	55 tan*	117 tan	1202 tan	786 tsubo**
Average T.K.B.	8 tan	15 tan	119 tan	265 tsubo

* Tan = 0.245 acre.
** Tsubo = 0.008 acre.

(3) Tenants

It can be noted in the first place that the area of land which tenants are entitled to cultivate is extremely small--especially when compared with the amount of land owned by landowners. Including even the land which tenants own, only 4 of the 22 tenants are entitled to cultivate farm land -- paddies and uplands included -- of more than 1.5 cho, while 2 of them cultivate land between 1 and 1.5 cho, and the rest are entitled to farm land of 1 cho or less.

TABLE 7

Number of Tenants Per Area of Farmland Cultivated

Amount of land	Number of tenants
1.5 cho or more	4
1 cho or more	2
0.5 cho or more	10
0.1 cho or more	6

Furthermore, since the yield is low in this area -- e.g., only 6.1 koku of rice per 1 cho, which is less than one-third of the average yield in Japan -- the amount of land which tenants are entitled to cultivate is relatively still smaller in terms of the productivity of the land.[34] Likewise, the average size of the rented homesite is less than one-third of the average size of the owned homesite. The former is 110 tsubo, while the latter is 227 tsubo (tsubo = 0.008 acre).

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34. Ariga I, p. 34. The average yield for cho for rice crop is 20.2 koku in 1943. (Asahi Nenkan 1951, p. 383)

Of the 22 ritual kinship households, 3 are "quasi-true kin households", 10 are "ritual kin households of type A", and the other 9 are those of "type B". There are two points to be made with regard to these different kinds of ritual kin household-heads: (a) Most heads of "quasi-true kinship households" are not only tenants, but often land-owners. Two "heads" own small pieces of land, and one of them even owns a homesite (he is the sole tenant owning the land under his own home). (b) The heads of "ritual kinship households of type B" are divided into two kinds of tenants, depending upon the kind of land they rent: The 6 heads who rent farm land and homecites are called yashiki-nago (nago = renter of homesite) and the other 3 who rent only farm land are called sakuko (child-cultivator of land)

CHAPTER V

FUNCTIONS OF THE SAITO DOZOKU

In the preceding chapters the historical development and structure of the Saito dozoku system have been presented in some detail. In this chapter the principal social functions of the organization will be analyzed. These functions are three in number: (1) the regulation of inheritance patterns; (2) the distribution of land, labor, personal services and other facilities; (3) the solidarity of the group.

A. Regulations of Inheritance Patterns

One of the functions of the dozoku is to regulate inheritance patterns by allocating certain roles to those who are born into the group. Although some aspects of this function were already described in relation to structure, some additional features may be discussed now, first with reference to true kin members, then to ritual kin members.

(1) True kinship members: landowners

Ariga's account of the members of the Saito household may be analyzed first.[35] According to him, the eldest son of the Saito main household succeeds to the headship of this household. In other words, the headship of the Saito main household and the leadership of the whole dozoku which accompanies the headship are ascribed to the eldest son. He inherits, together with the headship, the status of landowner along with its property.

While the eldest son inherits the main house, the younger sons are, by virtue of birth, candidates for the headship of bekke. However, it is also clear from Ariga's description that not all younger sons necessarily establish bekke. He reports that many of them were adopted during their childhood by families of comparable status which are located outside Ishigami.[36] Those who establish bekke remain in the honke

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35. Ariga I, pp. 48-49.

36. Ariga I, pp. 207-209.

for a considerable length of time even after marriage, working for the father and their eldest brother. When they establish bekke, each inherits a homesite, farm land, forest, furniture and the like from the father, and thereby become a landowner of the community.[37]

The property inherited by younger sons is considerably smaller than that inherited by the eldest. Since most true kin branch households were established a considerable time ago, the amount of property they hold at present does not indicate the amount inherited at the time of the establishment of the branch households. However, according to data on the property of the honke and that of three bekke (Sakay Himashi, and Nakayashiki), shortly after the establishment of the three, the eldest son inherited much more from the father than did the younger sons. In 1728, each of them owned land and had access to labor, the amount of which may be compared as follows:

TABLE 8

Productivity of Inherited Land for Honke and Bekke*

	Productivity of Land	Labor
Honke	13 koku rice	15 persons**
Bekke Sakaya	0 koku	3 persons
Bekke Himashi	6.5 koku	10 persons
Bekke Nakayashiki	8 koku	8 persons

37. Ariga I, p. 49.

* Ariga I, P. 49.

** The number of persons indicate the number of people whose labor was available to each of the four households. Such persons were called the temawari.

Ariga also reports that most daughters of the main household marry into families of comparable status which are located outside Ishigami. The amount of trousseau given them by their father is not reported.[38]

Little is reported by Ariga about inheritance patterns in bekke households. We may assume however, that the rules of inheritance for the main household are applicable here. The headship and the land of a bekke is inherited by the eldest son. Although all younger sons are entitled to establish a mago-bekke (grandchild branch), again only a few have this chance because of the fact that the bekke's property is limited in quantity.

(2) Ritual kinship members: tenants

It has been pointed out that the children of ritual kin households did not inherit their fathers' ritual kin status in the dozoku. However, they do inherit their fathers' status and property within their own households, but this is usually insignificant due to the poverty of most tenants. The children of these households thus are forced to work in true kin households to make a living and eventually achieve status as ritual kinship members. However, when the head of a ritual kinship branch household has acquired some property, his children may inherit the headship and property of this household without trying to work in the dozoku. An example is present in the case of Kanroku Ishida, who, although the head of a ritual kinship household, accumulated a considerable amount of property. His property was inherited by three people -- Kumakichi, Santaro, and Saburo -- and three bekke were established. They are, from the standpoint of Ishida Kanroku, true branch households. Although Ariga seems to include these three households in the Saito dozoku, they should be excluded from it because they no longer maintain ritual kin relationships in the dozoku.[39]

B. Distribution of Land, Labor, Service and Other Facilities

Another important function of the dozoku is to allocate land, labor, personal services, and other facilities among its members. This function of the dozoku again may be seen

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38. Ariga I, pp. 208-209.

39. Ariga I, pp. 92-93, p. 122. Ariga II, pp. 120-121.

from the two points of reference: i.e., the "instrumental" and the "expressive" contexts. In other words, the allocation of land and labor may be seen on the one hand with reference to the economic rental relations between the landowner and tenant and between the master and servant. On the other hand, it may also be seen with reference to the exchange of mutual aid and affective ties between main and branch households, and between true and ritual kinship members.

(1) The organization of agricultural activities

Before discussing economic rental relations between the landowner and tenant it is necessary to describe the social status of tenants in this dozoku.

a. The Nature of "Nago" Although the term "nago", as the reader may recall, has frequently appeared in this report in the names of three kinds of ritual kin members of the dozoku, i.e., bekkekaku-nago, bunke-nago, and yashiki-nago, an explanation of its meaning has been reserved for this point. This is because the explanation is relevant for clarification of the nature of tenancy relations.

According to Ariga, who has extensively surveyed the literature on "nago", the original meaning of this term is not known.[40] However, it is known that "nago" commonly refers at present to a special kind of tenant who has a more subordinate status with reference to a landowner than to an ordinary tenant. When tenants are classified by Japanese scholars into two major types -- namely, the juzoku-kosaku type (subordinated tenant type), and the futsu-kosaku type (ordinary tenant type) -- the "nago" is regarded as belonging to the former.[41]

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40. It is said by some that "nago" means a kokata (a ritual kin child) who is given his name (na) by his ritual kin parents who are called naoya. However, others say that "nago" means a low-class villager who is subordinated to a high-class villager called namushi. Still others say that "nago" is a modified form of nagayako which means a ritual kin child who resides in a rented house. Surveying all these theories and other evidences, Ariga concludes that none of these interpretations is final. (Ariga II, pp. 349-354.)

41. Ariga I, p. 56; Ariga II, pp. 256-266.

The meaning of these two types is as follows: in the case of the futsu-kosaku, the landowner-tenant relationship is based upon a clear-cut contract. Both parties are economically self-interested and free to choose the other, rent is calculable and paid in money or in kind. In the case of the juzoku-kosaku type, the landowner-tenant relationship is not contractual, the relationship is permanent, rent is not calculable and is paid in all forms -- money, kind and labor -- and both parties are united in mutual affection and personal obligations.

It is important to note that most ritual kin members of the Saito dozoku are called nago, which implies their subordinate, personalistic status with reference to the landowner.

b. Three kinds of tenancy land. In order to demonstrate that tenants of the Saito dozoku represent the second type -- the juzoku-kosaku -- the kinds of rent may be described first. Tenants of this dozoku rent not only farm land, but also their homesite. Farm land may be divided into two classes in terms of rental relations: yakuji and wakesaku:

Yakuji: All agricultural products from this land belong to the cultivator, in this case, the tenant.

Wakesaku: One-half of the agricultural products from this land are paid to the landowner as rent. (This is the usual kind of tenancy land.)*

Complete data on rented farm land and house sites are available for 22 out of the 25 tenants. The number of tenants who rent each of the three kinds of tenancy land, i.e., yakuji, wakesaku and homesite, and the average size of rented land by each tenant, are as follows:

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* See Appendix D for the sources of data used in this table.

TABLE 9

Average Area of Types of Land Rented by Tenants

Of the 22 tenants:	Average Area
14 rent yakuji paddy	0.8 tan**
21 rent yakuji upland	2.8 tan
17 rent wakesaku paddy	1.2 tan
14 rent wakesaku upland	1.3 tan
18 rent house sites	110 tsubo**

C. Payment of rent Of the three kinds of tenancy land, the wakesaku may be considered as the more usual. Whoever rents the wakesaku pays rent in proportion to the amount of land; that is, 50% of the agricultural products raised on the wakesaku.

However, the yakuji and homesite cannot be considered as usual or normal types of tenancy land. There are no precise standards for determining the amount of rent to be paid in proportion to the size of the yakuji and homesite. Landowners may increase or decrease the required amount of labor depending upon their personal feelings about the tenants, the number of members in the latters' households, physical distance between landowners' houses and the tenant's houses, etc. However, there are relatively vague standards for determining the amount of labor to be supplied:

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* See Appendix D for the sources of data used in this table.

** tan = 0.245 acre.

*** Tsubo = 0.008 acre.

1. Whoever rents the yakuji and homesite from the landowner supplies the latter with 15 days labor for the latter's farming and several day's labor for the latter's domestic work.

2. Whoever rents only the yakuji from the landowner supplies the latter with 7 to 8 day's labor for the latter's farming and no labor for the latter's domestic work. (Sakuko belongs to this category).[42]

Even these standards are not observed by some tenants. There are three tenants who, in spite of the fact that they rent the yakuji and homesite, are not required to supply their landowners with labor. These three tenants are the heads of "quasi-true kin branch households".

Since all the 22 tenants are the heads of ritual kin branch households, it is obvious that true kin households and ritual kin households are related, to a large extent, by their respective economic interests as landowners and tenants. The dozoku is a productive unit in which land is provided by true kin household heads and labor by ritual kin members.

d. Master and servant. Another economic exchange to be mentioned is that between masters (who are at the same time the heads of true kin households) and servants (who are at the same time ritual kin members living in these households). In this case again, the relationship is not contractual. Neither the amount of required labor nor the amount of compensation is specified.

Servants are expected to work most of the time, and to do whatever they are asked. This includes farming, forestry work, domestic work, timber work, lacquer work, etc. However, on days of festivals and ceremonies they are given a vacation. There are 55 such holidays in a year. In addition, they often have unspecified free time during work days. In return for their work, they are compensated by the heads of the households. The most important compensation is the establishment of the branch households after long years of service, but in addition, they are given all food, clothing, tuition for schooling, and medical expenses.

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42. Ariga I, pp. 132-134, p. 145.

During free time, they are allowed to work on their own and earn extra money for themselves (a practice called homachi). However, homachi usually does not amount to much.[43] Thus, they serve not for a specific compensation promised for a specific service done, but for the more diffuse goal of establishing their own branch household in the future, or, in sociological terms, to fulfill their obligations as ritual kinship members. It will be necessary to discuss, on later pages, the system of distribution of land, labor, and service with reference to the "expressive" context.

(2) The System of mutual aid

a. The distribution of property by the main household to branch households at the time of the establishment of the latter. When branch households are established, various kinds of property are supplied by the main household to branch households. However the amount and kind of property provided varies, as shown in the following table, with the types of kinship relationship the main household has with these branch households.

TABLE 10

Types of Property
Provided by the Honke for Branch Households*

	House	Furniture + Utensils	House site	Farm land	Forest land
Bekke	X	X	X	X	X
Q.T.K.B.**	X	X	X***		
R.K.B.(A)**	X	X			
R.K.B.(B)					

* Data in this table are obtained from Ariga I, pp. 48-97.
** Q.T.K.B. = quasi true kin branch; R.K.B.(A) = ritual kin branch of type A.
*** However, not all quasi true kin branch households received a house site.
43. Ariga I, pp. 125-231.

Of the four kinds of branch households, obviously the true kin branch households receive more from the honke than any other type of branch household. What they receive may be regarded as inherited property. They are not required to return anything, labor or service, for the property they receive. Of the other three types of branch households, the "quasi-true branch households" and the "ritual kinship households of type A" receive more than the "ritual kinship households of type B". What the former receive, as seen already, may be considered, in part, as compensation for the service they have performed as servants. However, the compensation is not precisely specified; hence may be regarded in part as gifts from the main household.

b. Mutual exchange of service and gifts After branch households have been established, the main and branch households continue to help one another on various occasions. Important occasions, as reported by Ariga, are: roofing, building, and repairing houses; weddings; funerals; births; sicknesses; fires; and natural calamities.[44] Various forms of mutual aid have been practiced long enough so that the members of the dozoku know approximately when and how much assistance should be extended. The term sukeai (mutual aid) is used to designate such traditional practices of assistance.[45]

On some of these occasions, especially when houses are worked upon, not only the members of the dozoku but also villagers belonging to other dozoku join in the mutual exchange of service. For example, the kumi for roofing houses is organized by households which are located in five buraku; i.e., Ishigami, Nakasai, Tsuchizawa, Iwaya, and Iwaki (165 households belong to the kumi at present). Such a large kumi is organized because a large amount of labor is necessary for the roofing of houses. In the case of building and repairing houses, organizations of similar magnitude are utilized.[46]

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44. Ariga I, pp. 163-326.

45. Ariga I, p. 132.

46. Ariga I, pp. 153-195.

However, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, births, sicknesses, and fires, less help is offered by those who are not members of the Saito dozoku; in these cases the amount of services and gifts to be provided varies according to one's status in the dozoku. For example, at a funeral of the main household, a true kin household brings to the main household more koden (an offering to the dead) and more gifts than a ritual kin household. Both of them supply the main household with labor. In contrast, at funerals of the branch households, the main household sends more gifts and koden to the branch household than it receives, but provides a smaller amount of labor than it receives.[47]

C. Social Integration of The Dozoku

Not only does the dozoku distribute land, labor, services and other facilities, and regulate inheritance patterns, but it also binds together its members through various forms of symbols and common terminologies, and through common value-orientations. In other words, once one becomes a member of the dozoku, he is expected not only to participate in the system of mutual help and in various forms of productive activities, but also to fulfill certain obligations attached to these activities and to perform certain functions to give evidence that he shares in the symbolic unity of this system. And it is precisely in these symbolic features and obligatory relations that kinship ties among the dozoku members are most emphatically affirmed.

There are other social groupings - -- for example, various forms of the kumi organization -- in which a system of mutual aid is provided, and productive activities organized. However, it is because the organization studied here is the dozoku, a composite kin institution, that kin terminologies are used, the spirits of ancestors reverenced, and the strict observance of family virtues required. Consequently, considerations of these symbolic features and obligatory relations are especially important in the understanding of the status of ritual kin members of the system. The term "ritual" suggests the emphasis on symbolic features which are required to promote solidarity of a kinship-type among non-blood kin.

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47. Ariga I, pp. 259-260.

(1) The Symbolic Unity of the Dozoku.

a. The use of kin terminology The symbolic unity of the dozoku is seen first in the use of kin terminology. Since honke, bekke and mago-bekke of the dozoku are composed of real kinsmen, it is natural that they address one another by kinship terms. The reader may recall, however, kinship ties among them are by no means close. It was pointed out earlier that the present head of the Sakaya-bekke was 18 degrees away from the head of the present honke. In spite of this distant blood relationship the relationships between the Sakaya-bekke and the honke in various activities - economic and cultural- are quite intimate. In order to express this intimacy, the whole dozoku system is regarded as "one family" in which the honke plays the role of "parents", and the bekke and mago-bekke that of "children". Other kin branch households which have been incorporated in the system through simulated kin ties are also regarded as "children" of the honke. On the basis of this concept of the dozoku as a "family", sets of kin terminologies are developed. They will be briefly described: The head of the main household is called "father" by members of the true kin branch households, and "Mr. Main House" or "Mr. Master" by members of the ritual kin branch households. His wife is called "mother" by both. His sons and daughters, irrespective of their ages, are called "elder brothers" and " elder sisters" by members of the ritual kin households.

TABLE 11

Dozoku Kinship Terminology (A)*

Addressee	Terminology used by	
	A member of T.K.B.**	A member of R.K.B.**
Head of Main Household	Otosan (father)	Oyasan (Mr. Main House) or Dannasan (Mr. Master)
His wife (wife of the head)	Okasan (mother)	Okasan (Mother)
His sons		Anisan (Elder brother)
His daughters		Anesan (Elder sister)
His father		Jisan (Grandfather)
His mother		Basan (Grandmother)

* Data is obtained from Ariga I, pp. 51 and 77-78

** T.K.B. = true kin branch. R.K.B. = ritual kin branch

In return, the members of both the true and ritual kinship branch households are addressed by their first names or in "rude" forms of address in the second person singular by the true kin members of the main household. In other words, the former are addressed as if they were "children" of the latter.

TALBE 12

Dozoku Kinship Terminology (B)

Addressor	Terminologies used to address	
	A member of T.K.B.	A member of R.K.B.
Head of the main household	First name, i.e., Keijiro, Tomijiro	First name, i.e., Sataro, Tetsutaro, etc., or Kisama (you) Omae (you) Uga (you)

In so far as terminology is concerned, from the standpoint of the members of the ritual kin households the head of the main household and those of other true kin branch households all are "parents". Very similar terminology is used by members of the ritual kin branch households to address the members of true kin branch households:

TABLE 13

Dozoku Kinship Terminology (C)*

Addressee	Terminology used by a member of R.K.B. (addressor)
Head of T.K.B.	Otosan (Father)
His wife	Okasan (Mother)
His sons	Anisan (Elder brother)
His daughters	Anesan (Elder sister)

* (Ariga 1, pp. 77-78).

b. Other symbols There are many formal occasions on which the symbolic unity of the dozoku is reaffirmed. As already noted, on weddings, funerals, and the birth of children, the dozoku members get together and extend mutual aid. There are other ceremonies and festivals, such as New Year's Day, Hachiman-to, Nijusanya-to, Konpira-to, Koehiki, Bon, and rice-planting.[48] These ceremonies are presided over by the head of the honke, and other dozoku members are required to be seated according to the status each of them occupies in the organization. In addition to these ceremonies, deceased dozoku members are buried in the dozoku graveyard in which tomb stones are also placed according to the status of the dead. Obviously these ceremonies and the graveyard formally attest to the feeling that the dozoku members -- true and ritual kin members alike-- are bound not by temporary material interest but by more permanent spiritual ties.

(2) Common value orientations

However, the members of the dozoku are bound together not only by the use of kinship terminology and attendence at formal ceremonies and festivals, but also through the web of obligatory relationships in which they live. Although the most important features of such obligatory relationships were already suggested in various sections of this report - for example, in the description of the distribution of land, labor, service and other facilities, in the description of the inheritance patterns, and in the clarification of the nature of the nago -- it will be necessary here to point out that there are several norms of Japanese social behavior which are basic to the obligatory relationships in this system. The importance of these Japanese social norms in the conduct of the dozoku members will be briefly summarized with illustrations:

a. Giri Probably the most important norm of the behavior of the dozoku members is what is generally known as giri in Japanese culture. Although giri is commonly translated in English as "obligations", it implies something much more complex.

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48. Ariga I, pp. 314-323. The ceremonies with Japanese names are standard Shinto and Buddhist festivals.

Several important dimensions of the giri principle will be explained with illustrations, in comparison to the Western notion of "contractual duty".[49]

In the first place, in contrast to the duties which are assumed by Westerners when they enter into a contract, giri is diffuse and indefinite. The diffuseness of giri is most clearly exemplified by the fact that the tenants of this dozoku are called nago, and thereby differentiated clearly from the more ordinary type of tenant who is expected to fulfill only those duties specified in a contract. In sharp contrast to the latter, a ritual kin member of the dozoku, once he has rented land from the honke, is required not only to pay the rent but also to assume obligations to the honke. He is expected to work in the honke whenever necessary, and to attend the latter's funerals and weddings. Conversely the honke, once it has rented land to a dozoku member, is expected to assume no obligations other than to observe the rental contract.

Secondly, giri is not only diffuse in its function but also indefinite. In this sense again, giri may be contrasted to contractual duties. In the case of a contractual duty, one is discharged from the duty once he has fulfilled the contract. In contrast, it is considered that one can never completely fulfill giri because the time for its fulfillment is not specified. The giri norm is continuously binding, while a contractual duty is binding only temporarily. Thus, if a person in one bekke has been helped by the honke, he will be indebted to the latter throughout his life. Even after his death, his children are expected to feel obligated (giri) to the honke. This point is especially important in the dozoku in which the continuities of honke, bekke, and mago-bekke, and to a degree even the ritual kin households have been maintained through the paternal line. Giri is all the more binding in this situation because, for example, the head of the honke is indebted to the head of a bekke not only for what the latter has done for the former but also for what the

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49. The social norm of giri is discussed by Ruth Benedict in The Chrysanthumum and the Sword, and its various dimensions analyzed by T. Kawashima in Shiso (Thought); No. 327, 1951.

latter's father, or even the grandfather might have done for the former or the former's father. Conversely, the head of a bekke "feels much giri" to the head of the honke.

The third characteristic of giri is that fulfillment of giri is, in extreme cases, of an ascribed character. In other words, while one chooses to assume a contractual duty, one finds himself bound by giri whether or not he has chosen it. A son of a ritual kin branch household might never have thought voluntarily of performing his service in the honke. But because he was a son of a ritual kin member of the dozoku, to whom the honke had done many favors, and had grown up under the protection of the honke, he is perennially and irrevocably obligated to the honke.

The fourth important characteristic of giri is that it is tied up with emotional factors while a contractual duty is precisely calculated without emotional involvement. In the case of the latter, therefore, whatever one does beyond duty is regarded to be motivated by kindness, love, or devotion. The area of affectual behavior and that of duty are comparatively clearly differentiated. In contrast, one is expected to fulfill giri with total affection toward the other party. However, to the degree in which affectual relationship is involved in obligatory relationships, the areas of free display of emotion are minimized. While free and spontaneous display of love, kindness, and devotion is highly praised in the social organization based on contract, in the system like the dozoku, in which the social norm of giri is more predominant, its members are not expected to behave according to spontaneous emotion. Emotion is constant, therefore, not displayed.

Because giri cannot be measured and weighed without emotional involvement, there is no universal standard to determine one's giri toward the other. Contractual duties, on the other hand, may be legalized, and abuse of the imposition of the duty may be avoided on the basis of the legal standard. The amount of giri to be fulfilled is determined according to a particular relationship which may exist between the parties concerned. As in the case of the payment of rent in the Saito dozoku, the honke's request for the amount of payment varies with a particular historical relationship existing between the honke and a tenant, the physical distance between them, and various other factors.

Lastly, in a giri-oriented group, self-interest of the individuals is minimized and their loyalty to the group is stressed. This is obviously necessary since "excessive" self-interested orientation may transform the giri relationship into a contractual one.

b. On and on gaeshi A type of giri relationship which is found between the superior and his subordinates is generally called an "on" relationship.[50] In other words, what the superior is expected to do as his giri to his subordinates is called on, conversely, what the latter are expected to repay as his giri to the former is called on gaeshi (payment of on). Consequently the on relationship shares the major characteristics of the giri relationship, except the former is a particular kind of the latter found in a hierarchical system. Since the dozoku is primarily a hierarchical system in which the honke occupies the highest status, the bekke, the next highest, and so on down the line in the order of the mago-bekke, the bekkekaku-nago, the bunke-nago, the yashiki-nago, and the sekuko, the on relationship naturally is the most important of all giri relations in the dozoku. The honke, as described earlier, is expected to give on to all the members of the dozoku. In return, the dozoku are expected to reciprocate in the various forms of service rendered.

Another important point to be made with regard to on is that it stabilizes the existing hierarchical relationship because, as the preceding analysis of the giri relationship made clear, on cannot be returned completely by a subordinate. In other words, a subordinate, once he has received on from his superior, is permanently indebted to the latter and will never be able to repay him completely. The more on the superior gives, the more stable his superordinate status becomes and the gap between him and his subordinates widens.

c. Sanctions The two social norms analyzed, i.e., giri and on, although undoubtedly major normative patterns of social behavior of the dozoku members, by no means exhaust all the norms. A discussion of others is omitted here but a brief sketch of formal and informal systems of sanctions of the dozoku

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50. Difference between on and giri is still a problem not completely settled by Japanese scholars. The present distinction is only a tentative one, it is based on Ariga's suggestion found in Minzokugaku Kenkyn, Vol. 14, No. 4, p. 21.

will be added to show how strictly the norms, as analyzed, are enforced.

Thus, what one does and says is constantly observed by others. If the code is violated, he is blamed and criticized. Sanctions are not only informal, but, according to Ariga, there is a formal system of sanction in the Saito dozoku. He states that, especially in the past, whenever a member of the dozoku violated a certain code of conduct, he was expelled from the dozoku by the head of the main household. When an extreme violation of the code took place, the person was even expelled (kando) from Ishigami buraku. However, Ariga also states that such dictatorial acts by the head of the main household have been infrequently practiced in recent times.[51]

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51. Ariga I, pp. 75-76.

CHAPTER VI

SOME SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE DOZOKU

In the preceding chapters, an attempt was made to conceptualize what is technically known among Japanese social scientists as the dozoku organization. The typical case of the Saito dozoku was analyzed for the purpose of illustration.

This concluding chapter of the report will draw some implications from the case study of the Saito dozoku and from the empirical generalizations already made in the preceding chapters. In order to do this, the following discussion will be focussed on two subjects: first, speculation as to the position that the dozoku may occupy among several basic types of social organization in Japan, and second, interpretation of the functional importance of this system in Japanese society as a whole.

A. The Position of the Dozoku in Japanese Society

(1) The dozoku and four basic types of social institutions

A well-known Japanese social scientist has pointed out that one of the most striking features of contemporary Japan is that in addition to various forms of family groups, institutions whose structures are patterned after family -- what he calls "familial institutions" -- are found throughout the society.[52]

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52. Takeyoshi Kawashima, 1948. A digest of this book has been published as Interim Technical Report No. 4, Summary and Analysis of T. Kawashima's The Familial Structure of Japanese Society. Research in Japanese Social Relations, Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1952.

It is worth noting that the adjective "familial" is used in a specific sense in this report. It does not imply "familism". "Familism" implies, "Whatever is good for the family, however that good is conceived, is approved and developed; whatever is inimical to the interests of the family, however they are formulated is taboo and prohibited". (Kulp, 1925, page xxix) In contrast to "familism" the term "familial" is used to characterize those institutions which are structured on the model of real families, though their members themselves are not related by blood.

Obviously, many major social groupings of contemporary industrialized Japan -- the government, public schools, large business corporations, large unions, and the like -- are structured largely on the basis of rational-legal principles. As in other industrialized societies, what some sociologists call "voluntary associations" play an important role in the dynamics of contemporary Japanese society. However, cutting across groupings of the associational type, one finds in Japan social institutions which, though they themselves are not true kin groups, are structured according to principles of status allocation analogous to that of true kinship systems. Such institutions are technically known as "ritual kinship institutions" in contrast to "true kinship institutions", and the term oyabun-kobun (parent-role and child-role) system is used to designate these groupings. In the oyabun-kobun system, as an earlier report of this Project has pointed out, persons of authority assume obligations and express attitudes toward their followers much as if they were foster parents and conversely the latter serve dutifully and hold the sense of loyalty toward the former as if they also were foster children.[53]

From what has been learned about the dozoku organization, it should be clear that the dozoku represents what the Japanese social scientist calls the "familial" features of Japanese society. However, it should also be clear that the dozoku, unlike the oyabun-kobun system, is not completely a "pure" ritual kinship institution. Instead, the dozoku, as analyzed in this report, stands between the categories of ritual kinship institutions and true kinship institutions.

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53. Cf. Interim Technical Report No. 3 (second edition) The Japanese Labor Boss System, Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1953.

TABLE 14

Four Basic Types of Japanese Social Institutions

True kinship	Combination of True and Ritual kinship	Ritual kinship	Association
Dozoku	Dozoku	The oyabun-kobun system	Business, club, labor union, bank, credit co-operative, etc.

As may be seen on the table, the dozoku stretches through both "true kinship" and "combination of true and ritual kinship" institutional areas. Those dozoku who happen to lack ritual kin members and households would fall into the former; those who possess ritual kin into the latter. However this may be, the important point is that the nucleus of the dozoku system is a body of relatives actually related by blood or by legal adoption.

It is otherwise with respect to the oyebun-kobun system. This is a pure case of "ritual kinship", since none of the members in any concrete instance are actually related by blood - or if they are, it is purely fortuitous. The nucleus or organizing principle of the system is ritual kinship; not blood ties.

(2) The geographical location of the dozoku

Not only are the two systems structurally different but it is also generally known that, while the oyabun-kobun is found mostly in various kinds of labor organizations in urban areas, the dozoku is found mostly in rural areas, operating as a system to organize landowner and tenant relations.[54]

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54. Due to the Land Reform instituted by the Occupation in the post-war period, the landowner-tenant relationship was abolished. What is described here, therefore, refers to the pre-land reform situation.

Although the dozoku is primarily located in rural areas, in some urban areas the dozoku is still found operating in guild-like systems between master and apprentice. Concrete cases of dozoku of this type are reported, for example, in Nakano's study of the dozoku among wholesale merchants of medicine in Kyoto.[55] However, when these guilds are expanded into nation-wide industrial combines, the dozoku originally located within a small community no longer retains its residential unity and the residences of the dozoku members scatter nationally rather than locally. The members of the Mitsui dozoku, for example, originally lived in Matsuzaka, Mie Prefecture, where they were engaged in brewing sake and soysauce in 1673. Now that Mitsui is a nation-wide industrial combine and an internationally known zaibatsu firm, members of the Mitsui dozoku are living in various urban centers.[56] The modern dozoku of the Mitsui type may be considered as an adaptation of the dozoku as analyzed in this report.

B. The Functional Importance of the Dozoku in Japanese Society

Reasons for the persistence of the dozoku system in contemporary Japan are probably very similar to those responsible for the persistence of the oyabun-kobun relations. Since Report No. 3 of this project offered extensive comments on this problem, this material need not be repeated here.[57] However, three additional points can be made.

First, as emphasized in Report No. 3 and as suggested in the preceding analysis of the functions of the Saito dozoku, common-sense answers to this question, in terms of "Japanese traditions" or "Japanese character structure", do not appear to be very rewarding. For example, if the persistence of the dozoku is seen

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55. Taku Nakano, 1948.

56. Takao Tsuchiya, 1951, pp. 12-13, p. 18.

57. Cf. Interim Technical Report No. 3, op. cit., pp. 56-65.

as the tenacity of Japanese traditions, it must then be asked, why the persistence of the tradition? A more tenable explanation may be given in terms of the functions that the dozoku system performs to fulfill the needs of its members. As demonstrated in the case study of the Saito dozoku, its members could not maintain their security and welfare outside the bonds of the dozoku. Because there the dozoku existed, agricultural activities could be efficiently co-ordinated, economic transactions between the landowner and tenant smoothly arranged, economic insecurities cushioned, inheritance patterns regulated, and all members bound together through the sharing of common value orientations and affectual feelings.

Secondly, in order to understand more completely the reason for the persistence of this system, it is necessary to investigate further which members of the dozoku have benefited most by its persistence. The dozoku is a hierarchical system in which the honke and a few related bunke have control, and in which the economic status of the members may be divided into two major categories; e.g., in the case of the dozoku in rural areas, landowners and tenants. To be sure, the dozoku guarantees the security and welfare of its "ordinary" members. It is important, however, to point out at the same time that the dozoku has performed the function of stabilizing hierarchical power relationships by serving quite often as a shield to protect and maintain the power and prestige of the leading members of the group, and by preventing the "ordinary" members from being conscious of status differences. Thus, it may be said that the "ordinary" members of the dozoku have received from this system, ironically enough, two things: (1) arrangements with respect to their welfare and security, and (2) informal, but potent, restrictions upon any effort they might make toward improving their welfare and security conditions. This function of the dozoku was also illustrated by the Saito case in which the Saito honke and related bunke had maintained their status as owners of farm land and forests. Other cases have also been reported by Japanese scholars. For example, according to Fukutake, tenants of the Adachi dozoku and the Ichinoseki dozoku in Akita Prefecture were paying unreasonably large amounts of rent to their landowners, but saying that "the honke's barn is our barn", and "In so far as the honke is secure, we are secure".[58] Also, according to Ariga, it was for a long time a

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58. Fukutake, 1952, pp. 83-84.

customary practice at election time for the honke to swing the votes of his dozoku members in order to obtain important positions in the village office, or the Nogyokai (Agricultural Association), or to serve the interests of a nation-wide political party with which he identified his own interests.[59]

The foregoing two points, however, are not sufficient for full consideration of the problem of persistence of the dozoku. Insofar as a dozoku in any rural community is not entirely separated from Japanese society as a whole, there must be some relation between the persistence of this system and the needs of the society in general. In fact, Japanese public education emphasized the importance of traditional family virtues; the old civil code legally protected many of the traditional rights of the house-headship (koshuken), of the parents (shinken), and of the husband (fuken). These influences were instrumental in indoctrinating dozoku members in the importance of the traditional value orientations of the dozoku, and in legally enforcing such major principles of the system as patrilinealism, primogeniture, and the authority of the honke over the bunke.[60] The persistence of the dozoku was also aided by conservative governmental economic policies of suppression of farmer unionization, and against development of large scale social security measures. As may be clear from these facts, the Saito case study supplies only a partial answer to the broader question of persistence. A fuller understanding of the problem may be obtained only through the analysis of social, economic, and political structure of Japanese society as a whole. A hypothesis which may be useful in such an analysis may be found in a current view held by Japanese economists concerning relationships between the state of the farmers and traditional governmental policies; namely, the view which contends that Japanese farmers have been deliberately kept powerless and poor by government since the beginning of Meiji period in order to use them as a sources of tax revenue and as a source of "cheap labor" for industrialists and landowners.

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59. Cf. Ariga, Shakaigaku Hyoron (Japanese Sociological Review), vol. 2, No. 1.

60. The Old Civil Code, Articles 770f, 886-888, 899, 772, 844, and 879.

C. Conclusion

As enunciated in the foregoing discussion, the dozoku system has persisted in Japan probably because it has met the needs of those who have been dependent upon it, and the needs of other groups outside the community for whom its persistence has been, for some reason, profitable. It is especially important to note that, contrary to common expectations, Japanese industry has developed not in spite of, but precisely because of the persistence of such a "feudal" institution as the dozoku. Consequently, studies of these "archaic" features of Japan are indispensable in the understanding of the dynamics of the contemporary Japanese society.

However, in the recent Japanese Occupation, many of the "functional supports" of the persistence of the dozoku system underwent drastic changes: land reform was effected, the educational system reformed, and a new Civil Code written. As many scholarly and journalistic accounts of the post-land reform situation report, the farmers of Japan remain poor, and suffer from heavy taxation, in spite of the land reform.[61] Further, under difficult economic conditions, the old "bosses" are coming back to power and the traditional control over the farmer is again resurgent. Can Japan regain her strength without the dozoku system? What kind of economic and political reconstruction is necessary to effect changes in this system? These questions must be explored in order to arrive at fuller understanding of the dozoku of today. The present study is offered as a preliminary descriptive foundation for a more comprehensive study of this important feature of Japanese rural society.

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61. Cf. Yamaoka, Keizai Ronso (Economic Review), Vol. 70, No. 4.

APPENDIX

A. THE NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND THE KINDS OF LAND IN ARASAWA-MURA, IWATE PREFECTURE*

(1)	Total number of households- - - - - - - - - 898	100%
	(a) farm-households- - - - - - - - - - - 618	68%
	(b) non-farm households- - - - - - - - - 280	22%
(2)	Total land- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 5,593 cho	100%
	(a) arable land- - - - - - - - - - - - - 716 cho	13%
	(b) paddy land - - - - - - - - - - - - - 259 cho	5%
	(c) upland - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 457 cho	8%
	(d) forest land- - - - - - - - - - - - - 3,953 cho	71%
	(e) other kinds of land- - - - - - - - - 880 cho	11%

* Information on this table is obtained from Ariga I, pp. 23-37.

B. THE LIST OF TRUE KIN HOUSEHOLDS OF THE SAITO DOZOKU*

Name of House	Name of Householdhead	Relationship	Date of Establishment	Location
Honke Saito	Saito Zensuke		1624-1643	Ishigami
Bekke Sakaya	Saito Tomijiro	Split from Saito	1710	Ishigami
Himashi	Saito Sohichi	Split from Saito	1724	Ishigami
Nakayashiki**	Saito Kazuo	Split from Saito	1711-1715	Ishigami
Tahei**	Saito Kosaku	Split from Saito	Year unknown	Ishigami
Kagachu	Saito Kaichiro	Split from Saito	1813	Nakasai
Kagazen	Saito Kozo	Split from Saito	1873	Nakasai
Atarashie	Saito Motoji	Split from Saito	1886	Ishigami
Mago-Bekke Yenji	Saito Keijiro	Split from Sakaya	1848-1853	Ishigami
Iwakichi	Saito Seijiro	Split from Sakaya	1874	Nakasai
Bakurai	Tsuchizawa Takijiro	Split from Sakaya	1896	Nakasai
Kotaro	Saito Kotaro	Split from Tahei	1911	Ishigami
Katsutaro	Saito Katsuichiro	Split from Kagachu	1916	Nakasai

* Information on this table is obtained from Ariga I, pp. 44-46.

** Nakayashiki and Takei were discontinued once and reestablished later.

C. THE LIST OF RITUAL KIN HOUSEHOLDS AND SERVANTS OF THE SAITO DOZOKU

Line of Descent	Name		Kinds of ritual kinship status	Related true Kin Household
	Last	First		
Hashimoto A	Hashimoto	Sataro	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Hashimoto A	Hashimoto	Tetsugoro	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Hashimoto B	Hashimoto	Magozo	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Hashimoto B	Hashimoto	Magoroku	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Hashimoto B	Hashimoto	Torazo	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Hashimoto B	Saito	Fukumatsu	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Saito A	Saito	Kataro	Q.T.K.B.	Honke
Saito A	Saito	Komakichi	Q.T.K.B.	Honke
Saito B	Saito	Matsutaro	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Saito C	Saito	Nitaro	R.K.B. (B)	Tahei
Unknown	Saito	Sannosuke	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Hattori	Hattori	Seiji	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Hattori	Hattori	Ishino	Servant	Honke
Hattori	Hattori	Masa	Servant	Honke
Baba	Saito	Suetaro	Q.T.K.B.	Honke
Baba	Baba	Takematsu	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Baba	Baba	Iwamatsu	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Baba	Baba	Otokichi	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Baba	Asuka	Magotaro	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Yamamoto	Yamamoto	Kanematsu	R.K.B. (A)	Honke
Yamamoto	Yamamoto	Harumatsu	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Yamamoto	Yamamoto	Kuramatsu	Servant	Honke
Kakehata	Kakehata	Ishimatsu	R.K.B. (A)	Sakaya
Ishida	Ishida	Shishi	R.K.B. (B)	Nakayashiki honke
Ishida	Ishida	Umanosuke	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Ishida	Ishida	Haramatsu	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Ishida	Ishida	Ishizo	R.K.B. (B)	Honke
Ishida	Ishida	Magota	R.K.B. (B)	Honke

R.K.B. (A) represents "ritual kinship branch household of Type A."

R.K.B. (B) represents "ritual kinship branch household of Type B."

Q.T.K.B. represents "quasi true kinship branch household."

1. Data for this table are obtained from Ariga I, pp. 83-89, 92-94, and 98-99, dated 1935. The ritual kin relationships which Ariga describes in Ariga I, p. 122 and Ariga II, pp. 120-121 are different from the data used here. Still other data are found in Ariga II, p. 84. Since the first data are most detailed, they are used here.

2. Not all the ritual kin servants are included in this table since no information is available on the geneology of some servants.

3. There are two Hashimoto lines of descent. They might have come from a common ancestor. However, because Ariga's data do not show the common ancestor, they are listed here as separate lines of descent. And in order to avoid confusion, one is referred to as Hashimoto A, the other as Hashimoto B. The same thing applies to Saito A, Saito B, and Saito C.

D. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNED AND RENTED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE SAITO DOZOKU

	Land Owned				Land Rented			
	Paddy	Upland	Forest	House-lot	Paddy	Upland	Forest	House-lot
A. True Kin Households								
1. Honke								
Saito Zensuke	55	117	1202	786	0	0	0	0
2. Bekke, Mago-bekke								
Saito Tomijiro	15	61	435	279	0	0	0	0
Saito Sohichi	3	5	67	344	0	0	0	0
Saito Kazuo	10	10	45	251	0	0	0	0
Saito Kosaku	10	8	57	***	0	0	0	0
Saito Motoji	5	4	107	289	0	0	0	0
Saito Kotaro	2	3	4	164	0	0	0	0
B. Ritual Kin Households								
1. Q.T.K.B.								
Saito Suetaro	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	107
Saito Komakichi	*	0	0	0	3	4	0	69
Saito Kataro	1	0	0	87	3	8	0	0
2. R.K.B. (A)								
Hashimoto Tetsugoro	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	120
Saito Fukumatsu	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	152
Hoshomoto Satoro	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	66
Hoshomoto Magozo	2	0	0	0	1	5	0	161
Baba Iwamatsu	2	2	6	0	1	4	0	120
Saito Matsutaro	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	168
Yamamoto Kanematsu	1	2	0	0	1	4	0	186
Baba Takematsu	*	0	9	0	2	4	0	140
Hashimoto Torazo	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	26
Saito Annosuke	0	0	0	0	2	9	0	84
3. R.K.B. (B)								
Yamamoto Harumatsu	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	78
Ishida Umamosuke	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	180
Hashimoto Magoroku	0	0	0	0	0	*	0	67
Hattori Seiji	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	45
Ishida Harumatsu	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	125
Ishida Ishizo	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	85
Asuka Magotaro	0	5	4	***	*	5	0	0
Ishida Shishi	0	0	0	***	*	1	0	0
Ishida Magota	5	13	20	***	0	2	0	0

Symbols like Q.T.K.B., R.K.B. (A), and R.K.B. (B) are same as those used in Appendix C.

Data on owned land are obtained from Ariga I, pp. 50, 117-118.

Data on paddy and upland are dated 1933, forest 1921, house lot 1935.

Data on rented land are obtained from Ariga I, pp. 57-58, 72-74.

Data on all kinds of rented land are dated 1935.

* smaller than 1 but larger than 0.

** unit for paddy, upland, forest is tan which is 0.25 acre.

*** data for this column could not be obtained.

**** unit for house-lot is taubo which is 1/300 tan.

E. LIST OF TERMINOLOGIES

(1) Various Local Terms for Dozoku

Terms	Meaning of Term
Oyako, oyago, oyaku, oyagu, oyakoshi, oyakoshu.	Parent-child group (or similar meaning)
Ikke, douchi, yauchi, yautsu, kenaiuchi, douke, hitosukado, itto.	A family
Jirui, aiji.	Regional group
Maki, make, ichimaki, uchiwamaki, ikkemaki, shimaki, somaki	Herd (or similar meaning)
Kabu, kabuuchi.	A root of a true or a head of an animal
IIdonaka	Relatives

There are, in addition, such terms as Kurawa, myo, yoriki, deinakae, ouebakke, uchima, kururi, temawari, yuisho, yusho However, the meanings of these terms are not known to the writer.

(2) Various Terms Designating Honke

Terms	Meaning of Term
Oyanoe, oya, onya, oyakata, oyage, iya, iyanoe, iyane.	Parents, parents house (or similar meanings)
Honya, ouya, oie, oe, oee, honke, omoya	Main building (or similar meanings)
Tanomi	Main house related by ritual kin ties.

Also such terms as jito, nanushi, oyasaku are used when people refer to the honke. These terms do not designate economic and political roles of the honke, rather than the honke itself.

(3) Various Terms Designating Bunke

Terms	Meaning of Term
Heya, hiyawakare, dee, deiya, deeiye	Room, branch room, branch building, branch kitchen, etc.
Miwakare	True kin branch
Tanomi	Ritual kin branch
Oyagakari	Dependent upon " parents"
Moketori	"Earned" status

The above list of terms is by no means complete, and omits for simplicity the names of locaiities where they are used. The sources of the list include:

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